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MANUAL

OF

CHURCH HISTORY.

BY THE

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PREFACE TO THE FIRST EDITION.

VERY few words are required to explain the purpose and plan of this work. It is intended as a class-book for ecclesiastical students who have to read a course of Church history in a comparatively short time. Hence, it was necessary to omit numerous details, and to abbreviate the treatment of many important questions.

In preparing it I have aimed chiefly at simplicity, clearness, and order, as far as such can be attained in the narrative of human events. How far I have succeeded in my object, it will be for the reader to say.

The method of treating history adopted is the synthetic, as being the only one deemed suitable for class purposes. Each leading question is treated fully within the limits of the period or epoch to which it belongs, special attention being paid to points of controversial interest. Minutiæ are mentioned only so far as they bear on some question of importance. It will be found, however, that more details are given than can be inferred from the headings of the chapters. This method of treating history cannot fail to be useful in aiding the memory to retain many incidents that should otherwise be soon forgotten.

I have consulted standard Protestant and Catholic historians alike; and have endeavoured, as far as possible, to verify all statements by reference to the sources of Church history, with which our College library is so well supplied. Wherever objections, based on history, are urged against the teaching of

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Catholic faith, I have been careful to note the general principles of solution.

I have added marginal notes, to indicate what is treated in each paragraph. These will be found most useful to students, especially when preparing for examinations.

The present volume deals with the history of the Church down to the Pontificate of Gregory VII. I hope, on some future occasion, to supplement it by the addition of a second.

St. Patrick's College, Maynooth,
October, 1890.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ I.—History.—Its Nature and Divisions.

History, taken in its widest sense, may be said to be a narrative of past events. As there are different classes of events that can form the subject of narration, so are there different kinds of History. When, however, we speak of History without a qualifying epithet, we understand such as treats of man and those events with which he is intimately connected. Signification of the term.

History, understood in the latter sense, may be divided into *Annals*, which, as indicated by the name, narrate events according to years; *Chronicles*, which differ from *Annals*, principally, in the former entering more fully into details; and *Pragmatic History*, which not only narrates past events, but traces the connection of casualty between one event and another. *Pragmatic History* is therefore a science: it may be also viewed as an art, viz., when it applies to the present the lessons taught by the past. Its Divisions.

There is another important division of History, based on the subject of which it treats, viz., into *sacred* and *profane*. The former treats of human events in their relation to the supernatural world; the latter treats of them in relation to the natural world. Sacred History is either *inspired* or purely ecclesiastical, according as those

by whom it is written possess, or do not possess, the gift of inspiration.

Ecclesiastical History.

Ecclesiastical History may then be described to be that department of History which has for its subject the Church or Churches that have been founded to promote man's supernatural interests. It is *Universal*, if it treats of a Universal Church from its foundation up to the present time; and *particular*, if its scope be limited either as to time, place, or subject. Before the introduction of Christianity, there was no Universal Church; hence there could have been no Universal Church History. Christ founded a Church intended for all peoples, and destined to continue to the end of the world. It is with Him, then, that *Universal* Church History properly begins. Still, most writers on the subject treat of the Jewish and other forms of religion that preceded Christianity, as a fitting introduction to the study of Universal Church History.

Synchronistic and Synthetic History.

Up to the sixteenth century, writers on Church History followed as closely as possible the sequence of time. This style of writing History is generally known as *synchronistic*, to distinguish it from the *synthetic*, introduced by the Magdeburg Centuriators. These latter divided the History of the Church up to A.D. 1300, into thirteen periods of one hundred years each, treating of each important event by itself within the limits of the century. This division of Church History was too arbitrary to become popular, as there was generally no reason why the narrative of an event should be interrupted at the end of a century. It was therefore soon rejected; but the idea of the Magdeburg Centuriators has been retained in other divisions of Church History, at once more natural and more useful.

Division of Church History into Periods.

In reading over the History of the Church, we cannot fail to perceive that it may be divided into a number of periods, each possessing its own characteristics that mark it off from those that precede and those that follow. Many such periods are distinguishable. We shall adopt the simplest division of Church History into Ancient, Medieval, and Modern. Though all writers are agreed on the division thus stated, there is a hopeless divergence of opinion among them regarding the limits that separate Medieval Church History from the Ancient and the Modern. We shall accept the limits assigned by Dr. Alzog, and make the Medieval period begin with the second Council of Trullo (692), and terminate with the public appearance of Luther as pseudo-reformer, in 1517.

The distinguishing features of the First Period were the rapid spread of Christianity, the persecutions, the controversies regarding the Incarnation, and the development of Church organization; of the Second Period, the union between Church and State, the Crusades, Scholasticism, and the Mendicant Orders; of the Third Period, the Reformation, and the separation between Church and State.

The Medieval Period may be conveniently subdivided into two Epochs; the first extending from A.D. 692 to A.D. 1073; the second from A.D. 1073 to A.D. 1517. The former is generally known as the Dark Ages and embraces the period of the Church's enslavement by the State, and of the many evils to which that enslavement gave rise. In the latter we are told the history of the efforts made by the Church to free herself from this state of servitude, and of the success that crowned her efforts.

§ II.—The Religious Condition of the Gentile World before the Coming of Christ.

The religion of the world polytheistic.

The Gentiles, by whom we understand those who did not profess Judaism, had fallen away, long before the coming of Christ, from the knowledge of the true God, and had set up the worship of the creature instead of the Creator. Each nation had its own form of religion, which was bound up with its traditions and national existence. These different forms of religion were all polytheistic, as they admitted a plurality of gods, to each of whom was assigned a special sphere of action. Each department of nature had its own presiding deity: nor were the human passions forgotten in the Gentile pantheons, for the Romans had their Venus,[1] the Greeks their Aphrodite, and the Phœnicians their Astarte.

In each form of religion there was always one deity recognised as superior to the rest. Such was Jupiter among the Romans, Zeus among the Greeks, Ormuzd among the Persians, and Brahma among the Hindoos. Those nations that had attained any knowledge of art raised statues to their gods, and paid to those idols the worship formerly given to the powers which they represented. Such was the case among the Phœnicians, Egyptians, and particularly among the Greeks, who were

[1] If the Romans had their Venus they had also their Vesta, a virgin goddess whose temple was tended by virgins. The privileges enjoyed by these virgins show the esteem in which chastity was held even among the pagan Romans. They were allowed the first seats in the theatre; should their eye chance to light on a criminal in chains he was immediately released; and the consuls were obliged to stand and uncover their heads, and the lictors to lower their fasces, if they happened to meet the vestal virgins in the public streets.

so remarkable for their artistic tastes. And when the Romans had conquered the Greeks, and had become acquainted with their works of art, they also erected statues to their gods, and thus introduced idolatry into a country where it had been before unknown.

Polytheism not the original religion of the world.

Polytheism, or, as it is now more generally designated, Paganism,[1] was not the original religion of the world; for Monotheism is the religion taught in the opening words of Genesis—"In the beginning God created heaven and the earth." Men, as they increased in numbers and spread over the earth, began to forget the Creator and turn to the creature. This was due to many causes, but chiefly to the absence of any public authority commissioned by God to preach the truth, and to the unrestrained indulgence of the passions which tend to turn away man's mind from God, according to the well-known saying, "Les passions sont atheés."

Means used by God to keep men from religious error.

God adopted various means to keep alive in the minds of men the knowledge of their Creator till the promised Messiah should come. First, he gave them the light of reason, which, if properly used, would teach them not to pay to His creatures the worship due to Himself. Secondly, up to the time of the Flood, He frequently gave men, through His angels, the benefit of His direct revelation, both in the Garden of Paradise and on many subsequent occasions. Thirdly, after the Flood, God selected one people from the many that then inhabited the earth, and entered into a special covenant with them for the purpose of preserving them in the paths of justice and truth. He gave them their

[1] The term paganism was used to designate the various systems of polytheism shortly after the introduction of Christianity, because the *pagani*, or inhabitants of villages and rural districts, were the last to be converted.

law and their religion, and used alternately threats and promises to keep them from the errors of the Gentiles. The revelation which God made directly to the Hebrew people He intended also for those who were not sharers in the covenant. Hence the Hebrews were on various occasions brought in contact with the Gentiles, in order that the latter might have ample opportunity of knowing the one true God. Thus, they were brought in contact with the Egyptians during the two hundred and fifteen years of their captivity. And we are told that during the reign of Solomon (B.C. 1015-975), his fame having spread far and wide, many, as the Queen of Saba, came from distant countries to admire his wisdom and the magnificence of his temple. About two hundred years later, the prophet Jonas preached to the Gentiles of Ninive, and announced to them the punishment with which God was to visit their sinfulness. During the various captivities of the kingdoms of Israel and Judah, extending from B.C. 740 to B.C. 536, the Jews were scattered in the several provinces of the Assyrian and Babylonian empires. And when Alexander the Great conquered Palestine, B.C. 332, he sent large numbers of the Jews into exile to Egypt. Lastly, the Romans invaded Palestine, B.C. 63, and made it a subject-province of their empire.

The Hebrews brought in contact with other nations.

We thus see that the Jews were brought successively in contact with all the great nations of antiquity, viz., the Assyrians, the Chaldeans, the Persians, the Greeks, and the Romans. And no one can fail to perceive, in this infrequent intercourse between the Jews and Gentiles, a special Providence of God so directing the destinies of nations, as to give them an opportunity of knowing the truth.

Notwithstanding the facilities afforded the Gentiles of

gaining a knowledge of God and of their obligations to Him, they receded from Him more and more every day. Never was paganism at a lower level than at the coming of Christ. Rome was mistress of most of the known world: there were statues on her capitol to the gods of the conquered nations. The conflicting character of the different forms of worship witnessed by the Romans brought about a general contempt for religion. The sad experience of 4,000 years had shown the insufficiency of paganism to satisfy the religious cravings of the human soul, and the urgent necessity of a New Dispensation, in which a fuller light would be granted to know the truth, and a more liberal assistance to enable man to discharge his obligations to his Creator and his fellow-men.

Traces of a primitive revelation.

Amidst the darkness of error that brooded over the world there were discernible many rays of truth, some of which clearly pointed to a primeval revelation. Thus the belief in the fall of man, and in the coming of a Redeemer, was common to all the nations of the East and of the West. This belief found expression in various forms. Among the Greeks it was embodied in the legends[1] of Psyche, Prometheus, and the *Four Ages* of the world. According to the first mentioned of these legends, Psyche —the personification of the human soul—enjoys for a time the friendship of the god Eros, but forfeits it through her curiosity, and is then forced to wander comfortless through the world. Eros at length takes pity on her condition, receives her into favour, and is finally united with her in immortal wedlock. This is a faithful picture of

[1] Different versions of the legends of Psyche and Prometheus are handed down to us; but they all agree in giving an allegorical description of man's fall and redemption.

mans's fall and its consequences, and of the redemption of the human race. The prophecy of the Cumæan Sibyl, preserved in the following lines of Virgil's Eclogues,[1] is sufficiently expressive of the belief among the Romans in the advent of a Redeemer :—

> "Magnus ab integro saeclorum nascitur ordo
> Iam redit et Virgo, redeunt Saturnia regna
> Iam nova progenies caelo demittitur alto."

And Cicero is still more explicit when he says[2]: "There shall no longer be one law at Rome and another at Athens, nor shall it prescribe one thing to-day and another to-morrow; but one and the same law, eternal and immutable, shall be prescribed for all nations and all times: and the God who shall prescribe, introduce, and promulgate this law shall be the one common Lord and Supreme Ruler of all; and whoever will refuse to obey Him shall be filled with confusion, as this very act will be virtually a denial of His human nature; and should he escape present punishment, he shall have to endure severe chastisement hereafter."

§ III. The Political and Religious Condition of the Jews[3] at the Birth of Christ.

The Jews, at the coming of Christ, were divided into two sections, viz., those who lived in Palestine, and those who were in exile.

[1] Lib. iv., 6-8.

[2] *De Republica*, iii. 6.

[3] This is the name by which the chosen people have been known since the Babylonian captivity, as after that time the tribe of Judah (Yehudim), always the chief among the twelve tribes, attained a prominence which it never enjoyed before. Before the captivity they were known by the name of Hebrews.

A.—*The Jews of Palestine.*

Political condition of the Jews

The Jews of Palestine were politically dependent, and recognised the authority of Rome. Their subjection was the consequence of a dispute (70 B.C.) between Hyrcanus II.[1] and his brother, Aristobulus, regarding the sovereignty of Judea. Pompey, who was at the time commander of the Roman army in the East, was asked to interfere in the settlement of the dispute. At first he took the side of Aristobulus; but after a short time, owing to an imaginary insult received from the latter, he abandoned his cause, and took the side of Hyrcanus. He laid siege to Jerusalem, in the interest of his new protegé, and took it by assault (63 B.C.). Aristobulus and his children were brought captive to Rome, and Hyrcanus restored to the throne from which he had been driven by his brother, but only as a subject ruler, for Judea was declared a tributary province of the Republic.

When Julius Cæsar defeated Pompey, he allowed Hyrcanus to retain the office of high priest; but bestowed the civil government of the country on a Jewish proselyte, named Antipater, an Idumean by birth, who though nominally the minister, was really the master of Hyrcanus.

The Jews subject to Rome.

Antipater was succeeded (43 B.C.) by his son, Herod the Great, who, through the influence of Mark Antony, secured for himself the title of King of Judea. The sceptre had passed from Judah to one not sprung from the race of

[1] Hyrcanus II. († 30 B.C.) was the last of the Asmonean Dynasty, which began with John Hyrcanus I., son of Simon Maccabeus, who ruled 136-106 B.C. Out of respect for the memory of the Maccabees, the Asmonean princes were acknowledged by the Jews as their civil rulers and high priests.

Jacob. And thus the time pointed to in prophecy for the advent of the Messiah had arrived.

Herod, at his death (about 4 A.D.), divided Palestine between his three sons, Archelaus, Herod Antipas, and Philip. Owing to a revolt which broke out in his tetrarchy of Judea, Archelaus was sent into exile to Gaul, and his province was administered by procurators acting under the authority of the Proconsuls of Syria. Pontius Pilate, who pronounced sentence of death on our Lord, was the sixth successor to Archelaus in the government of Judea.

The Jews felt keenly their political subjection, on account of the large tribute they were obliged to pay to their rulers. In other respects they appear to have enjoyed a large share of civil and religious freedom. They were allowed to practise their religion without restraint, and to live according to their laws and customs. They had their judicial tribunals which were competent to take cognizance of all cases not involving capital punishment; and the Roman soldiers were charged to have their decisions carried into effect. The Jews continued in this condition till, driven to desperation by the oppression of the Proconsuls of Syria, they rose (66 A.D.) in open revolt against the Romans.[1] The rebellion resulted in their defeat, the ruin of their civil polity, and the destruction of Jerusalem (70 A.D.).

Religious condition of the Jews.

The religion of the Jews was pure monotheism. Their Law and their Prophets proclaimed the existence of One God, the Creator of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, who will reward the good and punish the wicked. God adopted the most extraordinary devices

[1] See p. 63.

to keep before their minds the knowledge of the Creator, and their obligation towards Him. He was Himself their King, who rewarded their fidelity, and punished their rebellion. Their festivals reminded them of Him: thus the Sabbath commemorated His completion of the works of creation; Pentecost, the promulgation of His law on Mount Sinai; and the Pasch, their liberation by Him from the bondage of Egypt. And the Temple, in which alone they were to offer sacrifice, kept prominently before their minds the unity of the Godhead.

The Sanhedrim

Their civil, judicial, and ceremonial laws were given to them by God, even to their most minute details. They had various tribunals for the interpretation of these laws, the chief of which was the Sanhedrim, or great national council of the Jews. It consisted of seventy-two members, viz. (*a*) the high-priest for the year, who was the president; (*b*) the chief priests, *i.e.*, the ex-high-priests and the heads of the twenty-four priestly families; (*c*) the elders or chiefs of the tribes; and (*d*) the scribes or doctors of the law. Election or nomination by the chief of the State was necessary in order that the elders and scribes should become members of the Sanhedrim.[1] Its origin and the extent of its jurisdiction are matters about which there is considerable diversity of opinion. It is generally held, that it dates from the time of the Maccabees, who on liberating their country from the yoke of the Syrians, established the Sanhedrim as the Great Council which was to take cognizance of all matters of State interest, such as public worship, and to which an appeal lay from the inferior courts of the country. To it were referred all cases

[1] Dixon, *Introduction to S. Scripture*, 310.

involving capital punishment. But the power of life and death was taken from it by the Romans.[1]

The Temple.

The Jews had but one place for offering sacrifice, viz., the Temple of Jerusalem. It was originally built by Solomon, on the plan of the Tabernacle, but of much larger dimensions. It was destroyed (588 B.C.) by Nabuchodonosor, King of Babylon, who carried away its sacred treasures to his own country. On the return of the Jews from captivity (536 B.C.), it was rebuilt by Zorobabel, and dedicated to the service of God (516 B.C.). The new Temple was inferior to the old in size and beauty. It was renovated and very much improved by Herod shortly before the birth of Christ. The foundations were the only part of the second Temple allowed to remain. Still, as the renovation was effected by degrees, and Divine Worship not interrupted, Herod's Temple may be considered morally the same with that of Zorobabel, so that the prophecy of Malachy was fulfilled, viz., that the promised Messiah would honour the second Temple with His presence. It was finally destroyed by Titus (70 A.D.); and the prophetic words of Christ,[2] that not a stone should be left on a stone in that building, were verified to the letter.

Jewish Synagogues.

Though there was but one sacred edifice among the Jews in which they were allowed to offer sacrifice, there were many in which they could assemble for public prayer and the reading of the Scriptures. These were called *Synagogues*. The term was originally used to designate an assembly of the Jews held for religious purposes, and was afterwards applied to the building in which such an assembly was held. At an early date in the history of the

[1] John xviii. 31.

[2] Matt. xxiv. 2.

Jewish people, these religious assemblies were held in private houses; at a later period, however, there were special buildings set apart for that purpose. We find mention of such buildings for the first time under the Asmonean princes, towards the end of the second century before Christ. According to Josephus, they existed at an earlier date among the Jews in exile. They were very numerous at the birth of Christ, both in Palestine and in the other countries where the Jews were scattered, and were generally built, as they are still in the East, after the model of the Temple. The worshippers, when praying, were supposed to look towards Jerusalem.

The Jewish sects.

At the coming of Christ there were many sects among the Jews, the chief among them being the *Pharisees*, the *Sadducees*, and the *Essenes*. They are mentioned, for the first time, during the Syrian wars about the middle of the second century before Christ.

The *Pharisees*, the most numerous of these sects, possessed most influence with the people, owing to the profound knowledge of the law which they claimed, and to the minuteness with which they carried out the different details of the ceremonial observances. We shall best describe them by contrasting them with the *Sadducees*, and mentioning the points of difference between the two sects. (*a*) The *Pharisees* admitted a living tradition to supplement and explain the Scriptures; the *Sadducees* rejected such tradition. (*b*) The former practised ceremonies not prescribed by the written law of Moses; the latter rejected these ceremonies. (*c*) The former admitted, the latter denied, the immortality of the soul and the existence of angels. (*d*) The *Pharisees* defended an intimate union between the Church and State; the *Sadducees* advocated a

total separation between them, maintaining that each should have a distinct code of laws framed according to its special needs. Though the two sects were bitter enemies of each other, they united in opposition to Christ.

The *Essenes* were a religious fraternity of Pharisees, who, weary of the world, withdrew from public life and lived in community. They abstained from flesh meat and wine, practised various ascetical exercises, and most of them observed celibacy. All their goods were held in common, their motto being, "mine is thine, and thine is mine." They were never very numerous, and lived mostly along the Dead Sea.

Closely allied to the *Essenes* were the *Therapeutae*. Both sects were religious fraternities; their members led lives of retirement from the world, and were very abstemious in the use of meat and drink. There were, however, some points of difference between them. (*a*) The *Essenes* were Hebrew Jews; the *Therapeutae* were Greek Jews, and lived mostly along Lake Moeris[1] in Egypt. (*b*) The former lived in community; the latter in separate cells. (*c*) The *Therapeutae* led purely contemplative lives; the *Essenes* took part in various occupations, such as agriculture and the arts. (*d*) All the former observed celibacy; while a certain class of the latter were allowed to marry. Some writers have confounded the *Therapeutae* with the early Christian anchorites. Though many of the *Therapeutae* embraced Christianity, it is quite certain that as a sect they were not Christians.

[1] Now known as Birket-el-Kerûn or El-Korn (the lake of the promontory). It is about 50 miles south-west of Cairo.

The *Samaritans*,[1] who played an important part in the history of the Jews, were a people of mixed descent.[2] They date their origin from the time of Salmanasser, King of Assyria, who had most of the ten tribes carried into captivity and replaced by colonists from his own country. They intermarried with the Jews that had escaped exile. We are told in the 4th Book of Kings (chap. xvii.), that, shortly after the arrival of the colonists, the land was infested with lions that assailed and killed the people. This visitation was attributed to their not worshipping the God of the country. Salmanasser sent one of the captive priests to teach the Samaritans the native religion. From this time they acknowledged the God of Israel, but did not abandon the worship of idols. Notwithstanding their idolatrous practices, they claimed to be true Israelites; but the other Jews of Palestine persistently refused to acknowledge any such claim. The antagonism between the two peoples became more marked when the Jews, on their return from the Babylonian captivity, refused to allow the Samaritans to take part in rebuilding the Temple. In 332 B.C., a rival temple was erected on Mount Gerizim, and a rival priesthood and ritual organized by Manasses, a deposed high priest from Jerusalem. From this time the breach between the two peoples became insuperable. It is generally held that, after the building of the temple on Mount Gerizim, the Samaritans gave up the worship of idols, and became more attached to the

The Samaritans

[1] They derive their name from Samaria, which continued to be their chief city from 925 B.C., when it was founded by Amri, to 130 B.C., when it was destroyed by John Hyrcanus I.

[2] According to the generally received opinion; some hold that they are wholly of Gentile origin.

Jewish religion. Their temple was destroyed (about 130 B.C.) by John Hyrcanus I., and themselves forced to submit to the authority of the Asmonean princes. Some of the Samaritans are still to be found in the neighbourhood of Naplouse,[1] and refuse to contract marriage with any other people.

Jewish proselytes.

Jewish *Proselytes* were converts to Judaism. They were of two kinds, viz., *Proselytes of the Gate*, and *Proselytes of Justice*. The former were Gentiles who, having renounced idolatry, professed the fundamental articles of the Jewish religion. It was only on condition of such profession that Gentiles were allowed to live in Palestine. The Proselytes of the Gate were allowed to adore God in the Temple, but could only enter through the first gate—hence their name—into the outer court, called the court of the Gentiles. The Proselytes of Justice received circumcision, and promised to observe the Jewish law in all its details. They were admitted to all the privileges of true Israelites.

B.—*The Jews in Exile.*

The Jews sent into exile on different occasions.

The Jews were frequently sent into exile by the different nations that successfully conquered them. Thus most of the ten tribes were exiled by Salmanasser; what ultimately became of these Jews and their descendants has never been ascertained. When the kingdom of Judea was conquered by Nabuchodonosor, most of its inhabitants were transported to Babylon. On the conquest of Babylon by Cyrus, King of Persia (538 B.C.), the captive Jews were allowed to return to their own country, but only 42,000 of

[1] Formerly Sichem, the chief city of the Samaritans since the destruction of Samaria.

them availed themselves of the privilege; Babylon from this time forward, till about 1000 A.D., was known as the second land of Israel. And again Alexander the Great, on his return from the conquest of the East, brought many Jews to Egypt, with whom he peopled a third of the newly founded city of Alexandria. Finally, Ptolemy, one of Alexander's generals, to whom Egypt fell on the death of the latter, carried off 100,000 Jewish captives, and settled them in Alexandria and Cyrene. They were allowed equal rights and privileges with their fellow-subjects; hence, after a short time, though there was no objection to their returning to their own country, they nearly all preferred to remain in Egypt; and many of the Jews of Palestine, hearing of the treatment of their countrymen in Egypt, went thither in search of the prosperity which they could not find at home. In a very short time Jews were to be found in large numbers in every part of Egypt. They began to speak Greek, and soon lost the knowledge of their mother tongue; so that it became necessary to have a Greek version of the Bible. According to many writers it was this which led to the first Greek translation of the Old Testament, called the Septuagint. A different account[1] of its origin is given in a letter purporting to have been written by a Greek named Aristeas[2] to his brother, during the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus (284-247 B.C.). This king, it is stated, was anxious to have a copy of the Jewish laws in his great library of Alexandria. Acting on the advice of his

The Septuagint.

[1] Which is followed by Justin Martyr, Clement of Alexandria, Epiphanius and other early ecclesiastical writers.

[2] Aristeas was prefect of the king's body-guard, and is supposed to have been a Jewish proselyte.

librarian, he asked the High Priest at Jerusalem to send seventy-two learned men to translate the Old Testament into Greek. The request was complied with, and the work of translation was completed in seventy-two days in the island of Pharos.[1]

The Septuagint, notwithstanding some minor points of difference between itself and the original Hebrew, was held in high esteem by the Greek Jews of Egypt. According to Philo, they repaired yearly to the island of Pharos to visit the scene where the translation was made. By degrees the Septuagint became popular even among the Jews of Palestine; so popular was it in our Saviour's time, that we find both Himself and His Apostles frequently quoting from it. It was commonly used in the Church for the first four centuries; and from it was made the ancient Latin version used up to the time of St. Jerome.

The effect of exile on the Jewish religion.

Absence from their native land and contact with other peoples had a baneful effect on the religious opinions and practices of the dispersed Jews. Deprived of the safeguards which residence in their own country afforded, and influenced by their associations, they began to modify their religious opinions, so as to bring them more into harmony with the teachings of paganism. And nowhere was this more true than among the Jews of Egypt. Here they were brought into contact with Grecian thought and manners presented in their most fascinating garb. Many of them were so much attracted by the religion of the Greeks, as explained by Grecian philosophers, that they endeavoured to harmonize the two religions by forming

[1] Josephus, *Jew. Antiq.*, xii., c. 2, § 10-12. Most modern critics hold that the translation was made not by Jews from Palestine, but by Egyptian Jews. They rely chiefly on the intimate acquaintance which the translators show with Egyptian manners and customs.

an eclectic system, consisting of doctrines borrowed from each.

The Alexandrian School of the Philosophy of Religion.

The chief effort to form such an eclectic system was made by the Alexandrian school of the Philosophy of Religion. This school is said to have been founded (about 150 B.C.) by Aristobulus, a peripatetic Jew of Alexandria. He had studied the principal systems of Greek Philosophy,[1] especially those of Aristotle and Plato, and was much pleased by their elevation of thought and mode of argument. He would be a follower of Plato: but he could not cease to be a Jew, for he looked on the Jewish Law as the basis of all true philosophy. He thought, however, he saw a way out of the difficulty. He asked himself the question: Could he not be at the same time a refined Greek and a pious Jew? He answered in the affirmative, and set about working out a religious system that would combine the principal doctrines of Judaism and Platonism. Those passages of Sacred Scripture, which, understood in their literal sense, could not be reconciled with Plato's fundamental principles, were explained by him in an allegorical sense.

Philo Judaeus.

The school attained its highest fame under Philo Judaeus. He was born at Alexandria, of wealthy parents. The time of his birth is not known with any degree of certainty. We only know that he was contemporary with our Saviour, and that he died about the year 39 A.D. He possessed a thorough knowledge of Greek literature and philosophy, and applied all his resources to developing

[1] The writings of the Greek philosophers, especially of Plato, exercised a powerful influence on the religious opinions of the Hellenic Jews for two centuries before Christ. They had a like effect on many Christians for the first three or four centuries of our era.

His doctrines.

and systematising the philosophic creed of the Alexandrian School. (*a*) He taught the existence of one God, Who is infinitely good and infinitely perfect. (*b*) He held, with Plato, the pre-existence of shapeless matter, the source of all evil. (*c*) As there could be no contact between a Being infinitely good and such matter, he conceived the existence of an indefinite number of intermediate beings, all emanations of the Divinity, through whom He acted on the visible creation. These beings were of a spiritual nature, and were called "Ideals." They were not, as Plato understood them, the mere types of created things, but active powers attending on God, and executing His will, corresponding to the angels of Judaism. The highest of these intermediate beings or emanations was the Logos, who comprised in himself the essence of all the rest. He is called at one time the Divine Reason, at another the Spirit of God, and again the Great Priest who intercedes for man, and finally the Power of Powers, the immediate creator of the world.

His ethical code was very strict, and was taken entirely from the Jewish Law, and the teaching of the Stoics.[1] Philo is set down by many as the first of the Neo-Platonists. If he was not the first, he was, without doubt, their most distinguished precursor.

[1] The Stoics were a sect of philosophers opposed to the Epicureans. Zeno (340-260 B.C.) from Citium in Cyprus is their reputed founder. They recommended temperance and self-denial as the best means of attaining the equanimity of the ideal "Wise Man." The Emperor Marcus Aurelius (121-180 A.D.) was the last of the great Stoical philosophers.

MANUAL OF CHURCH HISTORY.

FIRST PERIOD, FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO THE SECOND COUNCIL OF TRULLO (692).

CHAPTER I.

THE DATE OF CHRIST'S BIRTH AND DEATH.

A.—*The Date of His Birth.*

Diversity of opinion about the Natal Year.

ONE of the oldest and most warmly debated questions in history is that relating to the year of Christ's birth. In the Dionysian or Christian era, introduced early in the sixth century by Dionysius Exiguus, a Scythian monk then residing in Rome, the Natal Year of our Lord is supposed to correspond with 754 A.U.C. Others make it correspond with 746 A.U.C.; and every year between 746 and 754 A.U.C. has been set down by one or more writers as the year of His birth. We shall show—(*a*) that Christ was not born after 750 A.U.C.; (*b*) that He was not born before 746 A.U.C.; and (*c*) that He was probably born in the year 747 A.U.C.

First, He was not born after 750 A.U.C. For we know from St. Matthew[1] that He was born during the lifetime of

[1] Chap. ii. "When, therefore, Christ was born in the days of King Herod," &c. And when the Magi came from the East to adore the new-born Saviour, Herod inquired of them the time of the appearance of the mysterious star.

Herod the Great. But Josephus,[1] the Jewish historian, who flourished during the first century of the Christian era, supplies us with data from which it can be shown that Herod died in the month of Nisan, 750 A.U.C. Thus, in his *Jewish Antiquities*,[2] he says: "He (Herod) died five days after he had put his son Antipater to death, 34 years after he had caused Antigonus to be slain, and 37 years after he had been declared king by the Romans." In a different part[3] of the same work, he states that Herod was declared king in the second consulship of Domitius Calvinus and the first of Asinius Pollio, *i.e.*, 714 A.U.C. And in another place[4] he says that Antigonus was put to death at Antioch in 717 A.U.C. If we add 37 years to 714 A.U.C., and 34 to 717 A.U.C. we get 751 A.U.C.; or, making allowance for the Jewish custom of reckoning a part of the year for the whole, we get 750 A.U.C. as the year of Herod's death. Moreover, he informs us not only of the year of his death, but also of the time of the year, for he says[5] that "Herod died about seven days before the celebration of the Pasch," that is, in the month of Nisan.[6] The year of his death can also be known from ancient Jewish coins preserved in the Vatican. According to these, Herod Antipas, one of the sons of Herod the Great, was tetrarch 43 years before his deposition by Caligula, in 792 A.U.C. By deducting 43 years we get 749 A.U.C.; or, making allowance for the

Christ not born after 750 A.U.C.

[1] Josephus is specially reliable in whatever he states about Herod, as he had his information from Nicholas of Damascus, Herod's intimate friend.

[2] L. xvii., c. 8.

[3] L. xiv., c. 14.

[4] L. xiv., c. 1.

[5] L. xvii., c. 8.

[6] The month of Nisan was a lunar month, which began with the new moon occurring about the vernal equinox.

Jewish mode of reckoning, 750 A.U.C. But we are told by Josephus that Augustus carried the provisions of Herod the Great's will into effect immediately after his death. Hence 750 A.U.C. would be the date of the death of Herod the Great, and the first year of his son's rule as tetrarch.

Herod was absent from Jerusalem for the last four months of his life;[1] but he was present there when the Magi came from the East, *i.e.*, after the birth of Christ. Consequently, Christ was not born after 749 A.U.C.; nor after 748 A.U.C., if we hold with the tradition of the Latin Church, that the birth of Christ occurred towards the end of December; for by counting back four months from the month of Nisan, 750 A.U.C., we come to a date anterior to the 25th of December, 749 A.U.C.

Christ not born before 746 A.U.C.

Secondly, Christ was not born before 746 A.U.C. For we have it on the unanimous testimony of the early Fathers, that He was born at a time when Rome was at peace with the world. Thus, according to St. Jerome,[2] "All wars had then ceased;" and St. Augustine[3] says: "When Herod was reigning in Judea, and Cæsar Augustus was emperor, the whole world being in a state of peace, Christ was born." But we learn from the historical writings of Suetonius and Dio, that there was such a peace three times during the reign of Augustus, viz., in 726, 729, and 746 A.U.C. The periods of peace that began in 726 and 729 A.U.C. were of short duration; the one that commenced in 746 A.U.C. continued for at least six years. Christ was not born during the first or second peace; because, had He been born during either, the angel[4] that

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[1] Josephus, *Jew. Antiq.*, L. xvii., c. 8.
[2] In Isaiam, cap. ii.
[3] *Dei Civ. Dei.* L. xviii., c. 46.
[4] Matt. cap. ii. 13.

appeared to St. Joseph on the occasion of Herod's death 750 A.U.C., would not have called Him a *child* (*puer*). He must, therefore, have been born during the peace that began in 746 A.U.C. The Roman Senate ordered the temple of Janus[1] to be shut in 744 A.U.C.; but owing to some wars that broke out during that year, the order could not be carried into effect before the middle of the year 746 A.U.C. And, according to many of the Fathers, peace prevailed over the world, not only at the time of His birth, but also at the time of His incarnation or conception in the womb of the Blessed Virgin. Therefore He could not have been born before 747 A.U.C.

The most probable date of Christ's birth.

Thirdly, most chronologists set down 747 A.U.C. as the Natal Year. The chief argument in favour of this opinion is drawn from the census taken at the time that Christ was born. We are told by St. Luke: "It came to pass in those days, there went out a decree from Cæsar Augustus that the whole world should be enrolled."[2] In obedience to this decree, the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph went from Nazareth to Bethlehem, to be enrolled with their own tribe. They were obliged to take shelter in a poor inn close to the city; and here the Saviour of the world was born. Tertullian, in his work, *Against the Marcionites*, says,[3] that this census was taken by Sentius Saturninus, the Pro-Praetor of Syria, who, according to Josephus, held that office from 744 A.U.C. to 748 A.U.C. He completed the census before his departure from Syria, which occurred early in the year 748 A.U.C. Accordingly, Christ should have

[1] The temple of Janus was open in time of war, and shut in time of peace. It was shut only twice before the reign of Augustus.

[2] Chap. ii.

[3] Chap. xix.

been born before that year, *i.e.*, in 747 A.U.C. Against Tertullian's authority, however, it will be urged that St. Luke says:[1] "This enrolling was made first by Cyrinus, the governor of Syria." The discrepancy between St. Luke and Tertullian is variously explained. The most probable explanation is, that Cyrinus, the governor mentioned by St. Luke, was sent with extraordinary powers to take the census of Syria, and of the other countries that were under the immediate control of the Roman governor of Syria; and that he deputed Sentius Saturninus, the Pro-Praetor of Syria, mentioned by Tertullian, to take the census of Palestine. However the discrepancy be explained, it appears certain that there is no contradiction between the statements of St. Luke and Tertullian; for, as the latter was thoroughly versed in Sacred Scripture, it is not likely he would have made a statement that would be at variance with what the Evangelist says; particularly as he was writing against the Marcionites, the avowed enemies of Christianity, who would be sure to make capital out of such contradiction.

Tertullian not opposed to St. Luke.

From what has been said, it appears that there is an error of at least four years in the date 754 A.U.C., selected by Dionysius Exiguus, as the first of the Christian era. This error does not, however, interfere with the usefulness of his system of chronology, as the year 754 A.U.C. has been universally accepted, for the purpose of historical reference, as the Natal Year of Christ. If Christ was born, as we suppose, in 747 A.U.C., we can understand why Herod, in 748 or 749 A.U.C., ordered all the male children about Bethlehem to be killed, "from two years old and under."[2]

Amount of error in Dionysian calculation.

[1] Chap. ii. 2.

[2] Matt. ii. 16.

B.—*The Date of Christ's Death.*

Most probable date.

As there is a great diversity of opinion regarding the year of Christ's birth, so is there also regarding the year of His death. The most probable opinion is that of Sanclementus,[1] Palma,[2] and others, according to whom His death occurred in the year 782 A.U.C., or 29 A.D. The chief argument in favour of this year is taken from an old and well-authenticated tradition, according to which Christ suffered during the Consulship of the two Gemini, *i.e*, in the year 782 A.U.C. Thus Tertullian, in his work, *Against the Jews*,[3] says: "He suffered death within the seventy weeks (of years) during the reign of Tiberius Cæsar, when Rubellius Geminus and Fucius Geminus were Consuls." And Lactantius says:[4] "The Jews crucified Christ on the seventh day before the kalends of April, in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius, *i.e.*, in the Consulship of the two Gemini."

Early writers reconciled with St. Luke.

The tradition that Christ's death occurred during the Consulship of the two Gemini, agrees with another equally well authenticated, according to which He suffered in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. We have the latter tradition on the authority of Tertullian,[5] Clement of Alexandria,[6] and Julius Africanus,[7] all of whom flourished towards the end of the second century; and thus lived almost within a century of the event which they narrate.

[1] *Exercitatio Chron. de Anno Dom. Passionis.*
[2] *Praelectiones Hist. Eccles.* Cap. ii.
[3] C. vii.
[4] *Inst. Divinae*, iv. 10.
[5] *Loco citato.*
[6] *Stromata*, L. i.
[7] *Apud St. Hieron., Com. in nonum caput Danielis.*

But His baptism and death not having occurred the same year, it will be asked, how is the statement of these writers to be reconciled with what St. Luke appears to say in the third chapter of his Gospel, viz., that Christ was baptized in the fifteenth year of the reign of Tiberius. The answer generally given to this difficulty is, that the early Fathers date the reign of Tiberius from the death of Augustus; while St. Luke reckons it from a previous year, when he was invested with Consular authority by the Roman Senate. It is clear that there can be no contradiction between themselves and the Evangelist, as they were too thoroughly acquainted with Sacred Scripture to make a statement that would be at variance with it.

CHAPTER II.

THE APOSTLES.

Their number. THE Apostles were those who received immediately from Christ their mission to preach the Gospel, and who were endowed with special powers for that purpose. They were originally twelve in number, viz., Peter, Andrew, James the son of Zebedee, John, Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew, James the Son of Alpheus, Thaddeus,[1] Simon, and Judas Iscariot. After the defection of Judas St. Matthias was elected to fill his place. The Apostolic College was afterwards increased by the addition of St. Paul; and St. Barnabas is styled an Apostle, in the Acts of the Apostles,[2] though not generally reckoned as one.

Commissioned to preach the Gospel. The Apostles were commissioned to preach the Gospel on two occasions. The first is that described in the 10th chapter of St. Matthew, when our Lord, addressing them, said: "Go ye not into the way of the Gentiles, and into the cities of the Samaritans enter ye not. But go ye rather to the lost sheep of the house of Israel." The second occasion was immediately before His Ascension, when all restrictions were removed, and they were commanded to go and "teach all nations, baptising them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."[3] They

[1] Also called Jude. [2] Chap. xiv. [3] Matt. chap. xxviii. v. 19.

received shortly afterwards, on the Feast of Pentecost, those graces and miraculous gifts that enabled them to fulfil their arduous mission.

The Apostles' Creed.

There is a tradition that, after our Lord's Ascension, the Apostles remained twelve years in Palestine and the adjacent countries, preaching the Gospel to the "lost sheep of the house of Israel;" and that, before departing on their different missions, they drew up a symbol of faith known as the Apostles' Creed, for the purpose of securing a uniform belief among their followers. They are all honoured as martyrs, because, according to tradition, they all suffered death for their faith, with the exception of St. John, who endured the sufferings of martyrdom, though he was miraculously preserved from death. We shall notice briefly the life and labours of each of the Apostles.

St. Peter.

St. Peter, the chief of the Apostolic College, was a native of Bethsaida, in Upper Galilee, and, before his call to the Apostleship, was known by the name of Simon. After his marriage he removed to Capharnaum, where his mother-in-law lived. He was a fisherman by trade, and both he and his brother Andrew were actually engaged in fishing when they were invited by Christ to become His disciples. His name was changed from Simon to Peter when our Lord promised [1] to make him the rock on which He would build His Church. That St. Peter was made ruler of the Church and Prince of the Apostles, is clear, not only from the words directly addressed to him to that effect by Christ, but also from many incidents recorded in Sacred Scripture. Thus, his name occurs first in the list of the Apostles, given by St. Matthew,[2]

Prince of the Apostles

[1] Matt. xvi. 18.

[2] C. x.

St. Mark,[1] and St. Luke,[2] though they differ very much about the order of the rest. He presided at the election of St. Matthias.[3] He was the first to address the assembled multitude after the descent of the Holy Ghost.[4] He was the first of the Apostles to perform a miracle recorded in Sacred Scripture.[5] St. Paul went to Jerusalem to consult with him before engaging in his missionary labours.[6] Finally, he presided at the Council of Jerusalem (50 A.D.),[7] and proposed the question to be discussed as to the obligation of the Mosaic observances. These different incidents clearly point to his pre-eminence among the Apostles.

Shortly after his curing the lame man at the Temple, he and St. John were brought before the Council of priests on the charge of sedition; but they were immediately released, as the charge against them could not be substantiated. They were soon seized again by the Jews, and cast into prison, from which they were miraculously released by an angel.[8] Their enemies were enraged on hearing of their escape, and determined to put them to death; but were prevented from carrying out their wicked design by the intervention of Gamaliel, a learned doctor of the law, who addressed the Council in their favour. "Refrain," said he,[9] "from these men, and let them alone; for, if this counsel or this work be of man, it will come to nought: but if it be of God, you cannot overthrow it." They were scourged, and dismissed with a warning not to renew their preaching of Christ crucified.

Finding that he could no longer remain in Jerusalem,

[1] C. iii.
[2] C. vi.
[3] Acts i. 15.
[4] Acts ii. 14.
[5] Acts iii. 4.
[6] Gal. i. 14.
[7] Acts xv.
[8] Acts v. 19.
[9] Acts v. 38, 39.

he resolved to preach the Gospel to the Jews in exile. For this purpose he travelled through various parts of Syria, his missionary labours being directed chiefly towards the conversion of his own countrymen. He did not, however, exclude the Gentiles from the benefit of his preaching, for he was the first to receive a Gentile convert into the Church in the person of Cornelius the Centurion. He founded a Christian community at Antioch, which at the time was the chief city, not only of Syria, but of the East. It was here that the faithful were first designated by the name of Christians.[1] We are told by Origen,[2] Eusebius,[3] and St. Jerome, that he fixed his see here: a fact which is commemorated by the Feast of *St. Peter's Chair of Antioch.* Eusebius would appear in one passage[4] to deny that St. Peter was ever Bishop of Antioch, for he calls[5] Evodius the first, and Ignatius the second bishop of that see. The omission of the Apostle's name in the passage referred to, is probably explained by the fact that he afterwards removed to Rome. Preachers in Asia.

Having preached the Gospel in Pontus, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, he turned his steps towards Rome, where he arrived most probably in the year 42 A.D. It was fitting that the Gospel should be first preached in Rome, the mistress of the world, by the Prince of the Apostles. Here he fixed his see, and remained Bishop of Rome till his death. He did not, however, reside here constantly, for he was frequently absent on his Apostolic missions in other countries. Thus we find him in the year 44 A.D. in Jerusalem, where he was thrown into prison by St. Peter in Rome.

[1] Acts xi. 26.
[2] Hom. on St. Luke vi.
[3] L. iii., c. 36.
[4] *De Viris Illustr.*, cc.
[5] *E. H.*, iii., c. xxii.

King Agrippa; but he was shortly afterwards released by an angel.[1] He was again present at the Council held there in the year 50 or 51 A.D. Though no fact of history is better attested than the Roman episcopate of St. Peter, there have not been wanting anti-catholic writers[2] who deny it. They were led to do so by the belief that his Roman episcopate was the foundation of the claim, urged by the Popes, to jurisdiction over the whole Church. On this point the Anglican historian, Canon Robertson, justly remarks:[3] "It is not so much a spirit of sound criticism as a religious prejudice that has led some Protestant writers to deny that the Apostle was ever at Rome, where all ancient testimony represents him to have suffered, together with St. Paul, in the reign of Nero." According to the generally received opinion[4] among Catholic writers, St. Peter was Bishop of Rome for twenty-five years,[5] *i.e.*, from 42 A.D. to 67 A.D.

His Epistles

He wrote two Epistles to his converts in Asia Minor. The first was written about 45 A.D. from "Babylon" by which most of the Fathers understand Rome, at that time the great home of religious error and vice. The second was written from Rome, shortly before his death, when he was assured that "the laying away of his tabernacle was at hand."[6]

His martyrdom

St. Peter suffered martyrdom during the reign of Nero, in the year 66 or 67 A.D. Its immediate occasion was the

[1] Acts xii.

[2] Valesius, Salmasius, Spanheim, &c.

[3] *Hist. of Christian Church*, Bk. i., c. i.

[4] Both St. Jerome (*De Viris Illustribus*, c. i.) and Eusebius (*Chronicon*, Ad an. 44) state that he was twenty-five years Bishop of Rome.

[5] He had been seven years Bishop of Antioch before he came to Rome.

[6] C. i., v. 14.

burning of Rome (64 A.D.), which is said to have been the work of the Emperor, either because he considered the buildings unworthy of the Imperial city; or, according to some, because he was anxious to have the scene of Troy in flames reproduced. To divert suspicion from himself he charged the Christians with being the cause of the burning, and ordered a general persecution to be carried on against them. We are told by St. Ambrose,[1] that St. Peter was advised by the Christians to leave Rome, and that he yielded, though much against his will, to their advice. On his way out of the city, by night, he met Christ, whom he immediately recognised, and thus addressed: "Lord, whither art Thou going?" "I am going," replied the Saviour, "to Rome to be crucified again." St. Peter instantly understood the reproof contained in these words, and returned to the city, where he was taken and cast into the Mamertine prison with St. Paul. Here they remained for eight months, during which time they converted SS. Processus and Martinian, Captains of the Guard, together with forty-seven others. According to tradition, they were put to death on the same day, viz., the 29th of June. St. Peter, not being a Roman citizen, was crucified; and at his own request,[2] with his head downwards, as he said he was unworthy to suffer in the same way as his Divine Master. According to the oldest calendars, he suffered martyrdom near Nero's palace on the Vatican Hill, in the same place where St. Peter's now stands.

St. Paul. St. Paul, the Apostle of the Gentiles, was born at Tarsus in Cilicia, of Jewish parents of the tribe of Benjamin, and inherited from his father the rights of Roman citizenship. He received his early education in

[1] Sermon 68. [2] Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii., c. i.; St. Chrysos., *Hom.* 5.

his native city, then held in high repute for its schools of Greek literature and philosophy, and was afterwards sent to Jerusalem to acquire a full knowledge of his religion. Here he studied under Gamaliel, and became an ardent Pharisee. According to the Jewish custom which required each one to learn a trade, he became a tent-maker. He took a prominent part in the persecution of the Christians, and was present at the martyrdom of St. Stephen (about 36 A.D.) He was on his way to Damascus, with letters from the high priest authorizing him to persecute the Christians, and "bring them bound to Jerusalem," when those miraculous incidents recorded in the Acts of the Apostles[1] occurred which led to his conversion. He went to Damascus, where he was instructed in the Christian faith, and baptized by Ananias. Having remained here for some days he withdrew to Arabia,[2] where he spent a considerable time in retirement and prayer. He returned to Damascus; but was soon forced to take his departure from thence, owing to the hostility of the Jews. He then went to Jerusalem, where he was at first received with coldness by the Apostles, as they suspected the sincerity of his conversion. But these suspicions having been removed by Barnabas, he was received with great cordiality. Here also he was persecuted by the Jews, who sought to kill him. Departing thence, he went first to Caesarea, and afterwards to his native city of Tarsus, where he remained for about three years, till, at the request of Barnabas, he went to Antioch to assist in the work of evangelizing the people. Here he continued to labour for a whole year; and was sent up to Jerusalem with Barnabas to bear the alms that had been collected

His conversion.

Persecuted by the Jews.

[1] C. ix. [2] Gal. i., 18.

for the relief of "the brethren who dwelt in Juda."[1] Shortly after his return to Antioch he received, by the imposition of hands,[2] the priestly office and the plenitude of power to preach the Gospel (44 A.D.).

His first great Mission.

Taking Barnabas with him, he set out on the first of his *Great Missions* from Seleucia, the port of Antioch, about the year 46 A.D. He preached the Gospel in Cyprus, where he converted the Pro-Consul, Sergius Paulus. It is generally believed, that it was in memory of this convert the Apostle changed[3] his name from Saul to Paul. After leaving Cyprus, he travelled through Pamphylia, Pisidia, and Lycaonia, in all which countries his labours were attended with great success. After three years' absence he returned to Antioch about the year 49 A.D.

On his return he found a heated controversy raging about the binding force of the Jewish ceremonial law on Gentile converts. The question in dispute was referred for settlement to the Council[4] of Jerusalem (50 A.D.), which decided against the Judaizers.

Second Great Mission.

After labouring for some time among the Christians of Antioch, he set out accompanied by Silas, on his second *Great Mission* about the year 52 A.D. He preached the Gospel in Syria, Cilicia, and Lycaonia. At Lystra, a town in Lycaonia, he took St. Timothy as his disciple, and circumcised him to show his condescension to the Jews, though he refused to circumcise Titus to show that their ceremonial law was no longer binding.[5] He then travelled

[1] Acts xi. 29. [2] Acts xiii. 3.

[3] Others think that it was on the occasion of his conversion.

[4] Acts xv.

[5] Though the Jewish ceremonial Law ceased to bind after the death of Christ, it was not sinful to observe it till the New Law was fully promulgated: for it was "becoming that the synagogue should be buried with honour." It is not known when precisely the Jewish Law became "*mortifera*."

through Phrygia, Galatia, and Mysia. At Troas, in Mysia, he was joined by a recently-converted physician, named Luke, who became the chronicler of his labours[1] and one of the Evangelists. Having preached through most of Asia Minor, he crossed over to Thrace, and visited Philippi, at that time an important city. Here he made many converts, to whom he afterwards addressed one of his epistles. He was arrested on a charge of sedition, and scourged, after which he was thrown into prison. He was soon released, owing to the occurrence of an earthquake, which was interpreted as a punishment for the harsh treatment to which he had been subjected. The next place evangelized by him was Thessalonica, the capital of Macedonia, which he was soon forced to leave by the threats of the people. He received similar treatment in Berea. From Berea he went to Athens, where he preached to the Jews in the synagogue, and to the judges and philosophers on the Acropolis. To the latter he explained the character of "the Unknown God," to whom they had dedicated an altar. Here he made many converts, amongst them Denys the Areopagite, the first Bishop of Athens. He then turned his footsteps towards Corinth, where he laboured for about eighteen months. He returned to Antioch (about 54 A.D.), by Ephesus, Caesarea, and Jerusalem.

St. Paul at Athens.

Third Great Mission.

After a short stay at Antioch he set out (about 55 A.D.) on his third *Great Mission*, which covers almost the same ground as the preceding. Having visited the Churches of Phrygia and Galatia, he went to Ephesus, where he remained two years. Here there was a Temple of Diana, the largest Greek Temple ever erected, which was looked on as one

[1] After this St. Luke speaks in the plural of St. Paul and himself.

of the seven wonders of the world. The maintenance of this temple gave employment to large numbers. These were unwilling that St. Paul should convert the people to Christianity, and thus interfere with their temporal prospects. Those most affected by the Apostle's successes were the silversmiths, who derived large profits from making statues of the Grecian goddess. Headed by Demetrius, they raised commotions in the city, and compelled St. Paul to leave. He then proceeded to Macedonia, where he visited his converts and strengthened them in the faith. After visiting Corinth, and settling some disputes that had arisen among the Christians there, he went to Jerusalem, for the fifth time, much against the advice of his friends. He was immediately put under arrest, and was on the point of being scourged when he appealed to his rights as a Roman citizen. He was then sent to Caesarea, to Felix, the Roman governor, to be judged according to the Roman laws. After being confined two years in prison in Caesarea, he appealed to the Emperor, and was sent to Rome accompanied by St. Luke. On his voyage thither he was shipwrecked, at Melita,[1] in the spring of the year 61 A.D.; but all the passengers, numbering 276, were saved. At Rome, he "was suffered to dwell by himself with a soldier that kept him;" [2] and though "bound in chains" he was allowed to preach freely to those who approached him.

He claims the rights of Roman citizenship.

After two years in this kind of confinement, he was set at liberty, as no accuser appeared against him. There is no historical evidence to show that he left Rome after this time. Many critics, however, think that he revisited his converts in Asia Minor; and St. Clement of Rome states,[3]

[1] Probably Malta. [2] Acts xxviii. [3] Ad Cor. c. 5.

that, towards the end of his life, he visited "the extremity of the West," by which many understand Spain. He returned to Rome about 65 A.D., to comfort the Christians in their sufferings. He was arrested and thrown into prison, because, as Chrysostom tells us,[1] he converted one of Nero's concubines, to whom the Emperor was particularly attached. He was martyred on the same day as St. Peter, by being beheaded, for being a Roman citizen he could not be crucified. He was martyred outside Rome, where now stands the Church of the Three Fountains, built to commemorate the tradition, that St. Paul's head, on being severed from his body, jumped three times, and that a fountain of water sprung up at each place where the head came in contact with the earth.[2]

St. Paul's mission was, as he tells us,[3] primarily to the Gentiles, as St. Peter's was to the Jews. He laboured more than all the other apostles[4] for their conversion to the faith. In his preaching he met with much opposition from the Jews, and he had to undergo many trials and sufferings in the course of his laborious life. He refers to these in his second Epistle to the Corinthians:[5] "Of the Jews five times did I receive forty stripes save one: thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck; a night and a day I was in the depth of the sea . . ." And while engaged in preaching the Gospel to those present, he did not forget his absent converts. He frequently wrote epistles to them, explaining different

His sufferings.

[1] Hom. on the Acts, 46.

[2] The heads of the two Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul, are kept in the Church of St. John Lateran. One half of the body of each is deposited in a richly decorated vault in the Church of St. Paul on the Ostian Road: while the remaining parts are kept in a more stately vault in St. Peter's.

[3] Gal. ii. 7, 8. [4] 1 Cor. xv. 10. [5] C. xi. 24-29.

mysteries of their faith, and warning them against dangers to their spiritual interests. As many as fourteen of these epistles have come down to us.

St. John.

After SS. Peter and Paul, the Apostle of whom we know most from Sacred Scripture and tradition is St. John, "the disciple whom Jesus loved."[1] He was the son of Zebedee, and a native of Bethsaida. He was a fisherman, and was engaged with his brother, St. James the Greater, in mending their nets when they were called by Christ to follow Him. St. John was the youngest of the Apostles, and is supposed to have been about twenty-five years of age at the time of his call. He was present, with SS. Peter and James, at the Transfiguration and at the Agony in the Garden of Gethsemane. When the other disciples fled from Christ after His betrayal, St. John did not forsake Him. He even stood by Him as He hung on the cross, and received from Him the solemn charge of His Blessed Mother. And when he heard of Christ's Resurrection, he was the first of the disciples to arrive at the tomb.

Missionary Labours.

Shortly after the descent of the Holy Ghost, he was taken, with St. Peter, before the Jewish Council in Jerusalem, but was dismissed with a warning to desist from preaching. Not complying with the injunction of the Council, he was shortly afterwards arrested again and scourged. He laboured for some time in Palestine, and then went to Parthia, where he preached the Gospel for many years. It is generally supposed that his first Epistle was written to his converts in that country, and St. Augustine frequently refers to it, as the Epistle to the

[1] John xx. 2.

Parthians. He was absent from Jerusalem when St. Paul visited that city, a few years after his conversion, "to see Peter,"[1] but was present[2] at the Council held there in 50 A.D. According to tradition, all the Apostles were present at this Council. At a later period, Asia Minor became the scene of his Apostolic labours, with Ephesus as the centre of operations. It is not known when he came to Ephesus: it appears certain that he had not arrived there in 63 or 64 A.D., when St. Paul made St. Timothy[3] bishop of that city. St. Irenaeus says[4] that he did not come there till after the martyrdom of SS. Peter and Paul. According to Tertullian[5] and St. Jerome,[6] he exercised jurisdiction over all the Churches of Asia Minor; and was constantly engaged in refuting the errors of false teachers, especially of the Ebionites and followers of Cerinthus. He led a very austere life, never eating any flesh, nor wearing any clothes except a tunic and a linen garment.

St. John condemned to death.

In the second General Persecution, under Domitian, he was taken prisoner (about the year 95) by the Pro-Consul of Asia, and sent to Rome. Here he was condemned to death, and was thrown into a cauldron of boiling oil outside the Latin Gate. He was, however, miraculously preserved from death, and was banished by Domitian to the Island of Patmos, in the Archipelago. Here he was favoured with those revelations recorded in the Apocalypse. On the death of Domitian, in the year 97 A.D., St. John was allowed to return to Ephesus, where he

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[1] Gal. i. 18.

[2] Tillemont, *Memoires sur L'Histoire Ecclesiastique*, i. 355.

[3] He remained Bishop of Ephesus up to 97 A.D., when he was martyred.

[4] *Contra Haer.*, L. iii., c. 3.

[5] *Against the Marcionites*, L. iv., c. 5.

[6] *De Viris Illust.*, c. 9.

remained till his death. It is most probable that it was after his return he wrote his Gospel, to refute the heretics who denied the Divinity of Christ, and to supplement the other Gospels. Besides the Gospel and the Apocalypse, he wrote three Epistles. All his writings are full of the spirit of charity, for which he was so remarkable. We are told by St. Jerome,[1] that when feeble with old age, and unable to walk, the Apostle had himself carried about among the faithful, continually repeating : "My dear children, love one another." He died about the year 100 A.D., and was buried in Ephesus. A stately church was raised over his tomb ; but its site is at present occupied by a Turkish mosque.

St. James the Greater.

St. James the Greater received the invitation to follow Christ at the same time as his brother St. John. Our Lord bestowed on him many marks of special favour. He was allowed to be present with SS. Peter and John at the curing of St. Peter's mother-in-law, at the raising of the daughter of Jairus from the dead, at the Transfiguration, and at the Agony in the Garden. We know little or nothing of his history after our Lord's Ascension, except that he was the first of the Apostles to receive the crown of martyrdom. He was beheaded, by order of King Agrippa, in the year 44 A.D. It is generally believed that his labours were chiefly confined to the Jews of Palestine and the adjacent countries.

Said to have preached the Gospel in Spain.

It is the tradition of the Spanish Church that the Gospel was preached in Spain by St. James. This tradition[2] is very ancient, as it is mentioned both by St. Isidore and St. Jerome. But, whatever be the truth

[1] *On the Epistles to the Galatians*, c. vi.

[2] *Acta Sanct.*, July 25th.

of the tradition, it is certain that the Apostle's body is buried in Spain. It was carried to that country by some of his disciples and buried at El Padron. His relics were transferred early in the ninth century, by King Alphonsus the Chaste to their present resting-place at Compostella.[1]

St. James the Less.

St. James, the son of Alpheus, called the Less, to distinguish him from the other Apostle of the same name, was a Galilean, and a near relative[2] of our Lord. According to a tradition preserved by Hegesippus,[3] he was considered such a miracle of righteousness that he was commonly known as the Just. We are told by St. Jerome[4] and St. Epiphanius[5] that he became Bishop of Jerusalem immediately after our Lord's Ascension. He continued to govern this see up to the time of his martyrdom, about the year 63 A.D., when he was put to death by stoning. Towards the end of his life he wrote an Epistle, addressed to all the Jews dispersed throughout the then known world. It was directed against certain sectaries who maintained that faith without good works was sufficient for justification.

First Bishop of Jerusalem.

St. Matthew.

St. Matthew was a native of Galilee, and, by profession, a publican or tax-gatherer. His name, before his call to the Apostleship, was Levi. He was engaged in collecting taxes on the shore of the Lake of Genesareth, when he was called by Christ to follow Him. This occurred in the second year of our Lord's public ministry. After the dispersion of the Apostles St. Matthew preached

[1] The place is called after the Apostle, Compostella being a contraction for Giacomo Postolo.

[2] He is called in Scripture the brother and cousin of our Lord.

[3] Apud Euseb., L. ii., c. 1.

[4] *On the Epistles to the Galatians*, ii.

[5] Haer., 29.

the Gospel in the East among the Persians, the Ethiopians and the Parthians. St. Paulinus says[1] that he was martyred at Nandabar, a city in Parthia. He wrote the first of the Gospels for the Jewish converts about 41 A.D., before the Apostles separated for their different missions.

St. Andrew. St. Andrew was the brother of St. Peter, and a native of Bethsaida. He was the first[2] to become a disciple of Christ; hence he is styled by the Greeks the *Protoclet.* He had been previously one of the disciples of John the Baptist. According to tradition, he preached the Gospel in Scythia[3] and Greece, and was martyred by crucifixion[4] (about 66 A.D), at Patrae, in Achaia. His body was brought to Constantinople in 357, and afterwards (1210) to Amalfi, in Italy, where it still remains. He is honoured as the patron saint of Scotland. Some of his relics were brought to that country by a monk in the ninth century, and were deposited in a church built where now stands the city of St. Andrews. He is also held in veneration in Russia, as being the first who introduced Christianity into that country.

The other Apostles. Of the other Apostles we know very little. According to Eusebius,[5] St. Thomas preached in Parthia and India. St. Matthias is said to have preached in Ethiopia; St. Philip in Phrygia; and St. Bartholomew in India and Arabia. St. Simon the Zealot is said by some to have

[1] *Carm.* xxvi.

[2] John i. 40, 41.

[3] At the coming of Christ the term Scythia was applied to a vast extent of territory lying to the north and north-east of the Black Sea and the Caspian, corresponding pretty much to the present Russia in Europe and in Asia.

[4] It is the common tradition that the cross on which he suffered was in the form of the letter X : hence such a cross is styled St. Andrew's cross.

[5] *Eccles. Hist.*, iii. 1.

preached in North Africa for a short time; he afterwards went to Persia, where he suffered martyrdom.[1] St. Jude, also called Thaddeus, was a brother of St. James the Less. He laboured in Samaria, Idumea, and Syria. Towards the end of his life he went to Persia, where he was martyred. He wrote an Epistle to all the Churches of the East, warning them against the errors of the Gentilizing heretics.[2]

[1] Martyrologies of St. Jerome and Bede.

[2] Italy is said to contain the bodies of all the Apostles, with the exception of St. John the Evangelist and St. James the Greater. It is unknown what has become of the remains of the former; the latter is buried at Compostella in Spain.

CHAPTER III.

THE HERESIES OF THE FIRST CENTURY.

Their general character.

IMMEDIATELY after its promulgation, Christianity came into contact with Judaism and Paganism, both seeking to influence and modify it by their doctrines and practices. Thus while many of the Jews who professed to embrace Christianity maintained the obligation of the Mosaic Law in the New Dispensation, many of the converts from Paganism, on the other hand, aimed at engrafting on Christianity doctrines borrowed from their former religion, and especially from Platonic philosophy. The former are known as Judaizing, the latter as Gentilizing heretics.

A.—*The Judaizing Sects.*

The Judaizing sects may be reduced to three classes, viz., the *Petrines*, the *Pharisaical Judaizers*, and the *Ebionites*.

The Petrines.

The *Petrines*, who claimed St. Peter as their founder —hence their name—maintained the obligation of the Jewish Ceremonial Law in the New Dispensation, but only for Jewish converts. They were sometimes styled Nazarenes.[1]

The Pharisaical Judaizers.

The *Pharisaical Judaizers*, who derive their name from their excessive zeal for the Law of Moses, held that it was obligatory, not only on Jewish, but also on Gentile converts.

[1] The term Nazarene was originally applied to all Christians; but by degrees it was restricted to those who maintained the binding force of the Mosaic Law on Jewish converts. Their teaching was erroneous, but it is much disputed when it was branded as such by the Church so as to become heretical.

The Ebionites.

The *Ebionites*[1] agreed with the *Pharisaical Judaizers* in requiring the observance of the Jewish Law by all Christians, but differed from them in their teaching about Christ. According to the *Ebionites*, Christ was a mere creature, and differed from other men only in His superior sanctity, on account of which He was selected by God as the Messiah. Both Epiphanius[2] and Origen[3] speak of two parties among the Ebionites; one believing that Christ was born as other men, the other that he was miraculously born of a virgin. They rejected all the Old Testament, except the Pentateuch, and all the New except the Gospel of St. Matthew. To these were closely allied the *Elkessaites*, who held the same doctrines about Christ and the obligation of the Jewish Law, but differed from the former in defending the lawfulness of denying Christ in times of persecution.

The *Ebionites* continued to exist in Syria down to the end of the fourth century. The other Judaizing sects are said to have continued down to about the beginning of the sixth century.

B.—*The Gentilizing Sects.*

Their doctrines.

The *Gentilizing*[4] sects took the principal doctrines of their electic system from the Alexandrian School of the Philosophy of Religion. Following the teaching of that

[1] The term has been variously derived by different writers either from the name of the supposed founder (Tertullian, *De Praescr.*, 33); or from a Hebrew word signifying poor (Origen, *Contra Celsum*, ii. 221), because of the poverty which they professed.

[2] *Adversus Haer.*, x.

[3] *Contra Celsum*, v. c. 61.

[4] These sectaries are reckoned among the Gnostics by many writers. The doctrines of both were borrowed from the same sources, and were substantially identical. But as they were not fully developed and systematized during the first century, we prefer, for the sake of convenience, to retain the two titles.

school, they held—(*a*) the existence of one Supreme Being, living in *pleroma*, or the fulness of light; (*b*) the eternity of matter, the source of all evil; (*c*) the doctrine of Emanation; (*d*) the existence of the Logos, the highest of the "powers," or "spirits" emanating from God. They differed very much among themselves in their views about His human nature. Many, as the Docetae, taught that He took a human body only in appearance; others, as the Cerinthians,[1] that the Logos descended on the Man Christ at His baptism, and departed before His crucifixion; while the Simonians held that the Logos descended on Simon Magus, and resided in him till his death.

The Simonians were the most widely spread of the Gentilizing sects of the first century. Their founder, Simon, usually styled Magus, was a native of Gitton, a The Simonians.

[1] Cerinthus, from whom they derived their name, maintained the binding force of the Jewish Law. According to the generally received opinion, based chiefly on the authority of Irenaeus (*Contra Haer.*, iii. 214), he flourished during the first century; while, according to Tertullian, he lived during the reign of Hadrian (117-38). He is generally credited with having taught the doctrine of the *Millenium*, according to which Christ will reign with the just on earth, after the resurrection, for a thousand years before their assumption into heaven. This doctrine was based on the words of the Apocalypse: "And shall reign with Him (Christ) a thousand years," xx. 17. According to Cerinthus the pleasures of the just during the Millenium were to be chiefly carnal. Many of the early Christian writers also believed in a Millenium, or, as it is sometimes called, *Chiliasm;* but the enjoyment of the just in their millenium was to be of an intellectual and spiritual kind, so as to be in keeping with the superior dignity of man's nature. Papias, Bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia, who lived during the second century, and was an associate of Irenaeus, is generally set down as the first Christian writer who taught the doctrine of a spiritual Millenium (Eusebius, *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. 39). Many other Christian writers laid down the same doctrine, *v.g.*, Justin Martyr (*Dialogue with Tryphon*, c. lxxx.), Irenaeus (*Adver. Haer.*, v. 35-6), Tertullian (*Against the Marcionites*, iii. p. 449). This doctrine of the Millenium was opposed by Origen (*De Princ.* ii.), and by nearly all orthodox writers of the fourth century.

village in Samaria. The character of his religious opinions would point to Alexandria as the place of his education. He attained a high reputation among his countrymen for his skill in magic, and gained a large number of followers. We are told in the Acts of the Apostles, that he received baptism from Philip the Deacon, when the latter was preaching in Samaria, and that he offered to purchase from St. Peter the power of conferring the Holy Ghost. He has given his name for all time to the vice and heresy of which he was guilty on that occasion. He claimed to be the Messiah, who appeared in Samaria as the Father, in Judea as the Son, and among the Gentiles as the Holy Ghost.

He married a public prostitute of Tyre, named Helen, whom he represented as an emanation of the Godhead and the soul of the world. Justin Martyr says[1] that he afterwards went to Rome, where he received divine honours, and that a statue was erected to him by a decree of the Senate, with the inscription: "Simoni Deo Sancto."[2]

[1] *Apolog.*, i. 56.

[2] In 1574, a stone was discovered in Rome in the place described by Justin, *i.e.*, in an island in the Tiber. It bore the inscription, "Semoni Sanco Deo fidio sacrum." Semo Sancus was a God worshipped by the Sabines. From this it has been inferred by some, that Justin, who was imperfectly acquainted with Latin and the Roman mythology, confounded Simon Magus with the Sabine deity, who had a temple where the inscription was found. Those who deny St. Peter's presence at Rome endeavour to deduce an argument in favour of their opinion from the alleged mistake of Justin Martyr; for, say they, his story of the statue is a myth; therefore (?) the tradition which makes St. Peter and Simon Magus meet at Rome is devoid of foundation, as well as the tradition of the Apostle's presence there, the latter tradition, according to them, having had its origin in the former. Firstly, St. Peter's presence in Rome, as well as his Roman Episcopate, are facts so well attested by numerous early writers, as well as by the constant tradition of the Church, that even according to all unprejudiced Protestant authorities there is no room for reasonable doubt. Secondly,

While at Rome, he disputed with SS. Peter and Paul. Theodoret describes[1] the circumstances in which he met his end. He attempted to fly, but fell to the earth at the prayer of St. Peter, and shortly afterwards died from the injuries received in the fall.

The Nicolaites.

There was another Gentilizing sect referred to in the Apocalypse[2] under the name of Nicolaites. They claimed to be followers of Nicholas, one of the seven deacons appointed by the Apostles to take care of the poor about Jerusalem. They held, that all laws were the arbitrary enactments of the spirits that rule this world, and should be disregarded. In carrying out their antinomian principles they led lives of unrestrained indulgence.

The Gentilizing sectaries of the first century, and their successors the Gnostics, had no other claim to be called Christians than that derived from baptism, which most of them received, and from some doctrines borrowed by them from Christianity. These doctrines were very few; and their system in general was so much at variance with Christian belief, that at present they should be rather viewed as utter strangers to the Gospel, than as heretics or Christian sectaries. But it was the custom in those early

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It is most unlikely that Justin Martyr made a mistake about the statue, as his testimony is corroborated by Tertullian and St. Irenaeus, the former of whom knew Latin thoroughly, and had an intimate knowledge of Roman mythology (Doll., *Church Hist.*, Eng. ed., i. 128). Thirdly, St. Justin's mistake would be rather an argument in favour of, than against, the presence of Simon Magus in Rome. For, how could he have fallen into the alleged mistake except on the supposition of there being a tradition that Simon had been in Rome and was much honoured there?

[1] *Haer.*, i. 211. A different account is given by the author of the *Philosophumena* (Bk. vi.) of the way in which he met his death. According to it, Simon was buried alive by his disciples. He had promised to rise from the grave on the third day; but he never fulfilled his promise.

[2] C. ii.

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ages to designate by the name of heretic anyone who introduced the name of Christ into his system, no matter how far removed it might otherwise be from the teaching of the Gospel.

The sectaries refuted by SS. Paul and John.

SS. Paul and John refuted the errors of the Judaizing and Gentilizing sectaries. St. Paul proved against the former that the Mosaic law was no longer of obligation, as those who embraced the faith were made "free-men in Christ." While St. John proved against the latter the Divinity of the Logos ("In the beginning was the Word," Gosp., c. i.), and the reality of His human nature ("Which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled," 1st Ep., c. i.).

CHAPTER IV.

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY DURING THE FIRST THREE CENTURIES.

§ A.—*Rapidity of its Spread.*

Rapid spread of Christianity.

SHORTLY after the descent of the Holy Ghost, the Gospel was preached in Asia, Europe, and, according to Baronius,[1] in Africa, by the Apostles. So rapidly did it spread, notwithstanding the many obstacles which it had to encounter, that, before the end of the third century, Christians were to be found in large numbers in almost every country of the known world.

Thus St. Paul, in writing to the Romans, about twenty-four years after our Lord's Ascension, was enabled to assure them that their faith was "spoken of in the whole world."[2] Pliny the Younger, the governor of Bithynia, writing to Trajan (see p. 79), about the beginning of the second century, says:[3] "A multitude of persons of every age, sex, and condition, are placed in peril, for this superstitious contagion has gained not only the cities, but also the towns and rural districts. The temples of the gods are abandoned, the solemn sacrifices have been long interrupted, and none purchase the victims." Justin Martyr, writing half a century later, says:[4] "There is no people, whether Greek or barbarian, among whom prayers

Proof of the rapid spread of Christianity.

[1] Ad an. 49.
[2] C. i., v. 8.
[3] Lip. x., Ep. 97.
[4] *Dialogue with Tryph.*, 117.

and thanksgiving are not offered to the Father and Creator of the world in the name of Christ crucified." St. Irenaeus († 202), writing against the heretics of his time, declares that "the Church is spread throughout the world, even to the ends of the earth." The words of Tertullian are still more striking. Writing against the Jews, early in the third century, he says:[1] "We are but of yesterday; and we fill your cities, islands, castles, councils; your army, your palaces, and your senate. We have left you only the temples." And Arnobius, a learned African Apologist, who flourished about the end of the third century, asserts[2] that in his time there was no nation of barbarians that had not been affected by the civilizing influence of Christianity.

These testimonies are sufficient to give us an idea of the extraordinary rapidity and extent of the spread of Christianity during the first three centuries.

The Gospel preached in Asia.

As we have already seen, the Apostles preached the Gospel in Asia; they all confined their labours to that continent, with the exception of St. Peter, St. Paul, St. Andrew, and probably St. Simon. Almost every country in the East was evangelized by one or more of the Apostles.

Gospel preached in Africa.

According to some authorities,[3] the Gospel was preached in Africa by St. Simon. But whatever may be said of the Apostolic origin of the African Church, it is certain that Christianity was introduced there by some of the disciples of the Apostles. Thus, St. Mark, the Evangelist, who was the disciple and interpreter of St. Peter, was sent by the latter to preach the Gospel in

[1] *Adversus Judaeos*, vii. [2] *Adversus Gentes*, ii. [3] Baronius, Ad an. 49.

Egypt. He founded the see of Alexandria, of which he became the first bishop. Having laboured for many years in different parts of Egypt, he[1] was martyred about the year 68 A.D.[2] The propagation of Christianity in Egypt had to encounter many obstacles, arising chiefly from the advocates of Greek literature and philosophy, and from the Jews, who were both very numerous and influential in that country. Notwithstanding these obstacles, the Christian religion spread rapidly among the Egyptians; for we are told by Eusebius[3] that a Council was held in Egypt, in 235, at which as many as twenty bishops attended. (1) In Egypt.

It is not known when, or by whom Christianity was first preached in Proconsular Africa, Mauritania, and Numidia. There is a tradition, referred to by Baronius,[4] that the Apostles preached the Gospel in these countries. This tradition is rejected by most writers, as devoid of historical foundation. The early introduction of Christianity into North-western Africa is, however, more certain than the means by which it was introduced. That it was introduced at a very early date, is evident, not only from the words of Tertullian, already quoted, but also from the numerously attended Councils held in Africa during the third century. Thus Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage, presided at a synod of seventy African bishops, about the year 215; and St. Cyprian presided at two synods in 256, at one of which (2) In North Africa.

[1] The Evangelist is identified by most writers with John Mark, the nephew of Barnabas, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles (xii. 22).

[2] We are told by Eusebius (ii. c. 16) that he wrote his Gospel at the request of the Romans, who were anxious to have a written record of what they had learned from St. Peter by word of mouth.

[3] *Eccles. Hist.*, vi. 2.

[4] Ad an 49.

there were present seventy-one bishops, and at the other eighty-seven. It is most probable that the first Christian missionaries of North-western Africa came from Italy, on account of the close connection then existing between the two countries.

Gospel preached in Europe.

(1) In Italy.

Christianity was preached in many countries of Europe by the Apostles. It was preached in Italy by SS. Peter and Paul; in Achaia, Macedonia, and Thrace by St. Paul; and in Achaia, and probably in European Scythia, by St. Andrew.

(2) In Spain.

It is disputed whether the Spanish Church is of Apostolic origin. St. Paul, in writing to the Romans,[1] promised to visit Spain. And St. Clement of Rome, writing to the Corinthians, towards the end of the first century, states that St. Paul visited the "extremity of the West,"[2] by which, according to St. Jerome and Theodoret, he meant Spain. Those who hold that St. Paul visited Spain, would place his visit to that country after his first imprisonment in Rome about the year 65 A.D. There is also a tradition, which, however, has little to support it, that the Gospel was preached there by St. James the Greater. But, whatever may be thought of the Apostolic origin of the Spanish Church, it is certain that it dates from a very early period. For we find that there was a Council held in that country in 250 A.D. to depose two apostate bishops, viz., Martial of Leon and Basilides of Astorga; and there was a Council of nineteen bishops held at Elvira in 305, the acts of which supply ample evidence of the great antiquity of the Spanish Church.

[1] xv. 24.: "When I shall begin to take my journey into Spain, I hope that as I pass, I shall see you, and be brought on my way thither by you, if first, in part, I shall have enjoyed you."

[2] C. 5.

(3) In Gaul.

There is a great deal of controversy about the early history of Christianity in Gaul. Some hold that it was first preached in that country by St. Luke the Evangelist; others by Denys the Areopagite; others give the glory to Lazarus, who after our Lord's death, set out for Gaul, accompanied by Maximin, one of the seventy-two disciples, St. Mary Magdalen and Martha, and founded the Church of Marseilles; while many hold, that the first Christian missionaries were sent to Gaul by St. Clement, the last Pope of the first century. There are some, however, who refuse to admit the antiquity claimed for the French Church by these writers; and in support of their opinion, they appeal to the authority of Sulpitius Severus, who lived in the fifth century, and Gregory of Tours, who wrote towards the end of the sixth. The former says[1] that "the first martyrs of Gaul suffered in the reign of Marcus Aurelius (161-180); for it was *late* when religion found a resting-place on that side of the Alps;" and the latter states[2] that "the seven first missionaries arrived in Gaul, in the pontificate of Fabian (236-250), and that among them was Dionysius the first bishop of Paris." The statements of these writers are totally at variance with the constant tradition of the French Church, according to which Christianity was introduced into Gaul during the first century. Neither can they be reconciled with what St. Irenaeus and Tertullian state about the spread of Christianity in that country. The former, who was Bishop of Lyons and successor of St. Pothinus († 178), appeals[3] against the

Arguments against early introduction of Christianity into Gaul.

[1] *Hist. Sacra.*

[2] *Hist. Franc.*, i. 28; Rob., Bk. i., cap. viii.

[3] *Contra Haer.*, ii. 1. Hence, according to Irenaeus, Christianity had been even introduced in his time into Germany; but it is supposed to have been confined to that portion of it which lay along the Rhine.

heretics of his time to "the *teaching* of the *Churches* of Gaul, Germany, and Belgium." And the latter speaks[1] of the Christian religion as being "spread among the different nations of Gaul." Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, who was contemporary with Gregory of Tours, says that St. Denys,[2] the first Bishop of Paris, was sent to Gaul by Pope Clement. And the Abbe Faillon quotes[3] a very ancient manuscript belonging to the Church of Arles, which states that "during the reign of the Emperor Claudius, St. Peter the Apostle sent some disciples into Gaul, to preach the faith of the Trinity to the Gentiles, assigning to each a particular city."

These arguments not to be admitted.

It is, therefore, certain that Christianity was introduced into Gaul at a very early period, most probably during the first century; such, at least, has been the constant tradition of the French Church. It spread rapidly through the country. The Church there was fully organised before the end of the third century; for we find that there was a Council held at Arles, in 314, at which thirty-three French bishops attended.

(4) In Britain.

The early introduction of Christianity into Britain, as into Gaul, is more certain than the means by which it was introduced. We know from Tertullian,[4] that it had been

[1] *Adversus Judaeos*, c. 8. "Getularum varietates et Maurorum multi fines Hispaniarum omnes termini et Galliarum diversae nationes, et Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo vero subdita, et Sarmatorum, et Dacorum et Scytharum et abditarum multarum gentium, et provinciarum et insularum, multarum nobis ignotarum quae enumerare non possumus, in quibus omnibus locis Christi nomen, qui jam venit, regnat."

[2] It was the commonly received opinion in France during the Middle Ages, that St. Denys, the first Bishop of Paris, was the same as Denys the Areopagite. Abelard got into trouble in the twelfth century for denying their identity. Scotus Erigena had called it into doubt during the ninth century.

[3] *Monumenta Eccl. Gallic.*, ii., p. 373.

[4] *Loco citato.*

introduced into that country before the end of the second century. The Venerable Bede[1] informs us that a British king, named Lucius, sent a letter to Pope Eleutherius (177-92) asking to be received into the Church. Eleutherius complied with the king's request, and sent missionaries, who baptized Lucius and many others of his countrymen in Britain. Gildas, a British monk († 570), says[2] that the Gospel was first preached in his country about the eighth year of the reign of Nero (62 A.D.) And there have not been wanting some English writers who maintain, on the authority of certain obscure passages in the writings of Theodoret,[3] Venantius Fortunatus[4] and Nicephorus,[5] that the Gospel was preached there by St. Paul. This opinion is, however, now generally rejected as devoid of historical foundation. But, though the British Church cannot lay claim to an Apostolic origin, it is quite certain that Christianity was widely spread in Britain before the end of the second century. The Christians of that country were sorely persecuted in the reign of Diocletian, for Gildas says:[6] "The churches were thrown to the ground, the sacred books were burned in the public ways; clergy and laity were condemned to death; numbers of Christians fled into the woods, or concealed themselves in caves." It was during this persecution that England's first martyr, St. Alban, shed his blood for the faith. It is clear, from the

British Church not of Apostolic origin.

Gospel preached in Britain at an early period.

[1] *Hist.*, i., c. 4.

[2] *De Excid. Brit.*, i., c. 6. Gildas the Wise was a native of Wales. He taught for some time in the famous school of Armagh. For an account of his connection with this school, see Dr. Healy's learned and interesting work on *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, 99.

[3] In Psal. cxvi.

[4] *Vita Martini*, L. iii.

[5] *Hist. Eccles.*, L. iii., c. 1; vide *Ussher*, vol. v., cap. i.

[6] *De Excid. Brit.*, i., c. 8.

numbers who suffered on this occasion, as well as from there being three British bishops[1] present at the Council of Arles (314), that Christianity had made great headway in Britain before the end of the third century. From what Tertullian says about the Gospel having been preached in "many parts of Britain that had never been touched by the Romans," some writers conclude that there were many Christians in Scotland, before the end of the second century.

§ B.—*Causes of the Rapid Spread of Christianity.*

Having briefly traced the history of the rapid spread of the Christian religion throughout most of the known world, it remains for us to inquire into the causes that contributed to bring about this wonderful result in so short a time.

Dogmatic teaching of Christianity.

First. It was recommended by the character of its dogmatic teaching, and by its moral code. The doctrines which it proposes for our acceptance are most sublime in themselves, and appear specially so when contrasted with those of paganism. They are in beautiful harmony with one another, they satisfy the most exacting demands of human reason, and they proclaim the fundamental truth which paganism never discovered—that there is but one God, the Creator of heaven and earth, without whom "was made nothing that was made."[2] Then how consoling to the human heart is the teaching of the Christian faith about man's Redemption, and the existence of a future state, where peace and happiness ever dwell, and glory ever reigns. And the moral teaching of

[1] The three bishops were—Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelphius of Lincoln (Hard., *Coll. Conc.*, i., 267).

[2] St. John, i. 3.

Christianity is quite in keeping with the dogmatic. It is the most perfect ethical code ever made known to man, and its observance is rewarded by happiness both in this life and in the next. And what Christian morality was capable of effecting, it did, to a great extent, effect during the first ages of the Church. During those ages the great majority of Christians were converts from paganism, who embraced the Christian religion, often after a severe struggle, and always with a sincere conviction of its truth, and of the necessity of carrying out its injunctions in practice. They led pure and holy lives, and practised those virtues so little known among the Gentiles, viz., charity, meekness, humility, chastity, and temperance. Hence, their lives became more eloquent than words in preaching the truth of their religion, and recommending it to the unbelievers. So wonderful, for instance, did the charity shown by the early Christians towards one another appear to the pagans, that they used to exclaim: "See how they love one another!" On which Tertullian aptly remarks: "Well may they thus exclaim, for see how they *hate* one another!"

Its moral code.

Secondly. The causes that prepared for the advent of the Messiah contributed to the spread of His religion after He had come. Among those may be mentioned the Jewish religion, which was intended as a preparation for Christ; the barrenness of paganism, which, after a trial of four thousand years, had shown its insufficiency to satisfy the religious aspirations of man; the spread of Greek philosophy, which supplied an accurate terminology to express the sublime truths of Revelation; and lastly, the political condition of the world. At the coming of Christ, Rome was mistress of most of the known world; as a

Religious and political condition of the world.

consequence, many nations hitherto unknown to one another were brought into contact, and thus the barriers of separation disappeared, which ages of prejudice had raised up. This intercourse between different nations facilitated the spread of Christianity, as the missionaries could move about from one country to another with greater freedom, without fear of being rejected merely because of their nationality.

Messianic prophecies.

Thirdly. The Messianic prophecies contained in the Old Testament pointed to Christ, and were fulfilled in Him, as is shown in Theology. Nor was the expectation of a Messiah confined to the Jews; it was shared in by all the great nations of antiquity. Thus the Chinese looked forward to a Redeemer who should come from the West; the Romans[1] expected One who should come from the East; while the belief of the Greeks is sufficiently indicated in their legends of Psyche and Prometheus already referred to. The early Christians could, therefore, appeal in proof of the divinity of their religion not only to the Messianic prophecies preserved among the Jews, but also

[1] For instance, the Sibylline prophecies were appealed to by nearly all early Christian writers, in proof of the truth of their religion. These prophecies are oracular utterances about the future ascribed to pagan prophetesses who flourished before the birth of Christ. There are ten of these prophetesses or sibyls mentioned in history, the chief being the Cumæan, three of whose books were purchased by Tarquin the Proud, and deposited by him in the Temple of Jupiter on the Capitoline Hill. When the temple was burned (88 B.C.), during the civil war between Marius and Sulla, the Cumæan books were destroyed. To replace them a compilation of about a thousand verses was made from the prophecies of the other sibyls. This compilation was also destroyed when Rome was burned in 64 A.D. However, copies of it, more or less accurate, were to be found in different parts of the Roman Empire, and a new collection of the prophecies was compiled. These prophecies are contained in the Sibylline Books published at Paris in 1622 (*Biblioth. Patrum*, vol. viii.). Nearly all opponents

to those preserved in so many different forms among the Gentiles.

Fortitude of the early martyrs.

Fourthly. The heroic fortitude with which the early Christians met every kind of punishment, even death itself, rather than deny their faith, inspired in the minds of the beholders feelings of admiration and respect, and, by degrees, a belief in the truth of their religion. In those early ages not only men, but even women and children, suffered all kinds of torture that the ingenious cruelty of their persecutors could suggest. The martyrs frequently showed signs of intense joy in their sufferings, and on many occasions went so far as to thank their persecutors for giving them an opportunity of shedding their blood for the faith. The sight of such extraordinary readiness, and even desire, to suffer death, brought many to embrace the Christian religion; for they argued with themselves that a religion that could produce such martyrs must be something more than human. With truth then did Tertullian thus address those that persecuted the Church: "Your ingenious cruelty is vain, or rather it is a spell which

of Christianity, as well as some Christian writers, maintain that the prophecies found in these books were fabricated by the early Christians in the interests of their religion. While admitting that the collection, as we have it, contains many interpolations, we must deny that all the Messianic prophecies attributed to the sibyls were forged in the interests of Christianity. Thus Virgil, who wrote before any interpolation could have been made by a Christian, mentions one of these prophecies in the extract already quoted from the 4th Book of his Eclogues. And as early as the second century Celsus charged the Christians with forging the Sibylline prophecies; to which Origen replied by asking to have a single passage pointed out in which there was a discrepancy between the copies used by the Christians and the oldest copies extant (*Contra Celsum*). The Messianic prophecies of the sibyls were the result of a Divine revelation vouchsafed to the Gentiles, either directly, or indirectly through the Jews. Vide *Nat. Alex. Dissert. in* 1ª *et* 2ª *Saecula*, c. i., art. xvii.

increases our numbers; we multiply under your harvest of slaughter, for the blood of Christians is their seed."

Miracles.

Fifthly. The most powerful means of propagating the Christian religion was the power of working miracles possessed by its early preachers. Before His ascension, Christ promised this power to His Apostles. It was necessary they should be able to perform miracles in proof of their mission, for they were sent to found a new religion, and to preach against paganism, which also boasted of its signs and wonders. The early preachers of the Gospel used the power bestowed on them whenever the good of religion demanded it, in healing the sick, in raising the dead to life, and in otherwise suspending the laws of nature. Such miracles were the solemn seals of their heavenly mission, and supplied the strongest argument in favour of Christianity. This argument was urged with special force by St. Augustine against the unbelievers of his time. "Either miracles," said he, "accompanied the propagation of the Christian religion, or they did not: if they did, then it is divine; if they did not, then its rapid spread is the greatest of all miracles."

We have not referred to grace as one of the causes of the rapid spread of Christianity; because, though it always concurred with those mentioned, its operation, not falling under the cognizance of the human senses, does not form a proper subject for history.

§ C.—*Obstacles to the Spread of Christianity.*

If many causes concurred to the rapid spread of Christianity, there were, on the other hand, many obstacles that opposed it.

First. Christianity imposed a severe restraint on the

passions, which exercise such a potent influence over man. And in this respect it presented a striking contrast to paganism, as the latter pandered to the basest passions of human nature, and raised up gods to be worshipped by their indulgence. The human passions.

Secondly. Christianity came to supplant paganism, a new religion to supplant the old. And, besides the antiquity which paganism could claim in its favour, it was bound up with the traditions and literature of each country. Moreover, the pagan priests and many others, who had a monetary interest in the continuance of the ancient religion, offered a strenuous opposition to Christianity. Christianity a new religion.

Thirdly. The Temple of Jerusalem was an obstacle to the spread of Christianity among the Jews. As long as it was allowed to stand, it recalled to their minds the purpose for which it had been built, and the religious rites practised by their ancestors. It was thus an incentive to them to adhere to the old religion, or, at least, to continue many of its observances in the Christian dispensation. Temple of Jerusalem

To remove this obstacle, as well as to fulfil the prophecy[1] of Christ regarding it, it was necessary that the Temple should be destroyed. It was not long till the prophecy was fulfilled. Some of the more advanced Jews rebelled (A.D. 66) against the Roman authority, and endeavoured to throw off a yoke which had lately become intolerable, owing to the cruelty and exactions of Gessius Florus, the last Procurator of Judea. The insurgents were inspired with temporary hopes of success by a victory gained by them over the Roman army under Cestius Gallus, the Proconsul of Syria. On hearing of the defeat of his army, Rebellion of the Jews.

[1] Matt. xxiv. 2.

Nero (54-68) sent Vespasian, his bravest general, to conduct the war. After a short campaign, the latter succeeded in reducing the most of Palestine to obedience. He took Jotapata, the strongest of the Galilean cities, and put 40,000 of its inhabitants to death. Among those who were in the city at the time was Josephus, the author of the *History of the Jewish War*, and of the *Jewish Antiquities;* but he escaped the fate of so many of his countrymen by prophesying that Vespasian would yet wear the imperial crown. The victorious general marched towards Jerusalem; but the city was saved for the present by the death of Nero (68 A.D.). Vespasian, who was proclaimed emperor, was forced to abandon the siege, and return to Rome, to defend his claims against Galba, who had been set up as a rival emperor by the Roman soldiers of Belgic Gaul. Having fully established his imperial authority in the West, Vespasian ordered his son Titus, who was commander of the Roman army in Palestine, to lay siege to Jerusalem.

Jerusalem besieged by Titus.

The siege began about Easter, in the year 70 A.D. According to Josephus[1] there were 2,000,000 Jews in the city at the time, most of whom had come from different countries to celebrate the Passover. The Christians, warned by the prophetic words of the Redeemer, "When you shall see Jerusalem surrounded by an army, know that the desolation thereof is at hand,"[2] fled from the city, and took refuge in the town of Pella, beyond the Jordan. We are told that dead bodies were disentombed, and children roasted by their parents to satisfy the pangs of hunger. The miseries of the besieged were much increased by a pestilence, which broke out among them, and by

[1] *Hist. of the Jewish War*, vi. 9.

[2] St. Luke xxi. 20.

dissensions between the rival leaders, John Guascala and Simeon.

Destruction of the Temple.

The doomed city was taken towards the end of July. Titus was anxious to save the Temple, but a soldier, who said that he acted under an irresistible impulse, set it[1] on fire, and all who had taken refuge in it perished. According to Josephus,[2] 1,100,000 Jews lost their lives during the siege; 97,000 were sold as slaves, or reserved for the amphitheatres; and others were brought to Rome to adorn the triumph of Titus. The conqueror had a ploughshare passed over the ruins of the city, and left only three gates standing to mark where Jerusalem had once stood.

Such was the end of the Holy City and its Temple. With the Temple disappeared the sacrifices and the other ceremonies practised therein, the Jewish priesthood, and their civil polity. Henceforth Christianity shall have one obstacle the less to contend with; and the Jews shall wander as strangers in every land, to expiate the guilt of their deicide.

City rebuilt by Hadrian.

The city was rebuilt by Hadrian (117-38), but only as a heathen or Roman city, under the name of Aelia Capitolina. The Jews were forbidden to enter it under pain of death, except on one day of the year, the anniversary of its capture by Titus, when, on the payment of a heavy tax, they were admitted to mourn over the site of their former capital.[3] A temple of Jupiter was raised on Mount Zion, a statue of the same god was erected on Mount Calvary, and a statue of Venus over the sepulchre of our Lord.

[1] By a remarkable coincidence the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus in Rome had been destroyed by fire a short time (eight months) previously.

[2] *Hist. of Jewish War*, vi.

[3] Rob., i. 29.

The indignity thus offered to the Jews, together with the prohibition[1] issued by Hadrian against the rite of circumcision, caused another revolt in Palestine (131-5), which ended, as the last, in the defeat of the Jews, and in their complete subjugation.

Julian the Apostate.

We are told that Julian the Apostate (361-3), in order to falsify the prediction of Christ, encouraged the Jews to return to Jerusalem, and rebuild the temple. But their undertaking was frustrated by the occurrence of an earthquake and other remarkable phenomena, which were generally ascribed to divine interposition.[2]

The Christians persecuted.

Fourthly. The principal obstacle to the spread of Christianity was the persecutions to which Christians were subject for the first three centuries. These persecutions were twofold, viz., *physical*, which were directed against the lives and liberties of Christians; and *moral*, or such as were aimed directly against their religion for the purpose of discrediting it. We shall confine ourselves for the present to the latter, as the former will be treated of under the head of the General Persecutions.

Christianity misrepresented

During the first century, Christianity was attacked chiefly through misrepresentation. The Christians were charged with holding doctrines they repudiated, and with being guilty of various crimes of which they were quite innocent. The Jews co-operated with the Gentiles in this work of misrepresentation.

[1] This prohibition is said to have been the immediate occasion of bringing about a total separation between the Jewish ceremonial law and Christianity, as those Christians who did not practise the rite of circumcision were allowed to remain in the new city. They elected as their bishop, Marcus, who was of Gentile origin. All his predecessors had been Jews.

[2] The occurrence of these phenomena is attested by Ammianus Marcellinus (xxiii. 1) and other pagan writers.

The former ridiculed the Christians for worshipping as their God a poor carpenter who had been put to death, and could not deliver himself from his executioners; they also gave circulation to various other calumnies of a similar kind. These calumnies were freely taught in their great schools at Babylon and Tiberias, and afterwards embodied in the Talmud, their standard authority on ecclesiastical and civil law. This book, which contains the oral traditions of the Jews, was intended to supplement and explain the written law of Moses. It consists of two parts, viz., the Mishna and the Gemara. The former, containing the body of the Oral Law, embraces those traditions only that are said to be traceable back to the time of the Hebrew Legislator. They were first committed to writing by Esdras,[1] during the fifth century before Christ, for the purpose of preserving the exiled Jews as a distinct people; their final codification was completed in Tiberias by Judah the Holy, about 219 A.D.

The Calumnies of the Jews contained in the Talmud.

The Gemara is a collection of comments made on the Mishna by the chief rabbinical doctors during the early centuries of the Christian era. The great schools of Tiberias[2] and Babylon had each its own Gemara. The Gemara of Tiberias, more commonly called the Gemara of Jerusalem, was completed during the third century of our era. It was not, however, considered sufficiently exhaustive and outspoken against Christianity; hence it was deemed necessary to compile another.

The Gemara.

The second compilation was made at Babylon under the direction of Rabbi Ashe (365-427 A.D.) This Gemara,

[1] He was a Jewish lawgiver, and resided at Babylon till 478 B.C., when he and many of his countrymen returned to Palestine.

[2] After the fall of Jerusalem (70 A.D.), Tiberias became the seat of rabbinical learning for the Jews of Palestine.

together with the Mishna, form the standard Talmud of the Jews. It is essentially opposed to Christianity, and contains numberless falsehoods about the doctrine and character of the early Christians.[1]

Calumnies of the Gentiles during the first century.

The Christians were charged by the Gentiles with being guilty of atheism, because they did not worship the gods of the State, but an invisible and unknown Being whom the Gentiles could not understand. They were also charged with participating in the feasts of Thyestes, in which the flesh and blood of children were served up as meat and drink, and with being guilty of incest. The only foundation for the last-mentioned charge was that the early Christians used to hold their meetings in private to avoid the fury of their persecutors, and that being members of the same religious family, they were in the habit of addressing one another as brothers and sisters.

Their attacks during the second and third centuries.

During the second and third centuries, when the Christian religion was better known, and the falsehood of the charges made against it became apparent, its enemies had to change their mode of attack, and to have recourse to more plausible arguments to serve their purpose. The new system of warfare was adopted by two classes of so-called philosophers, viz., the Sceptics and the Eclectics. They were but the natural outgrowth of the innumerable systems of pagan religion and philosophy that had already seen the light, from the time of Thales down to their own. Many, considering the conflicting tenets of those systems, came to the conclusion that it was not possible to arrive at a knowledge of the truth; while others, who entertained a higher opinion of the powers of the human mind,

[1] *Vide* Blunt, *Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology*, art. "Talmud."

thought that a true system of religion or philosophy could be discovered, but only by selecting some doctrines from each of the systems that had already existed. The former were called *Sceptics;* the latter, *Eclectics.*

The principal opponent of Christianity among the Sceptics was Lucian, a native of Samosata in Syria. He was born early in the second century—the exact year is a matter of conjecture. His parents were poor, and apprenticed him to his uncle, who was a statuary, to learn that trade. But he soon abandoned it for the study of letters. He led an unsettled or vagrant life, visiting successively Greece, Italy, and Gaul; in the last-mentioned country, he became a teacher of rhetoric. The year of his death, as of his birth, is not known with any certainty; it is generally supposed that he died towards the end of the second century. He rejected all systems of philosophy, and scoffed at all forms of religious belief. Christians were regarded by him as good but foolish men who were too easily deluded. Their mutual love and readiness to assist one another were, according to him, but the expression of bigoted sectarianism; and he sought for an explanation of their fortitude and contempt of death in their blind superstition. "These poor men," he used to say,[1] "believe that their bodies and souls will be hereafter immortal: they therefore despise death, and frequently offer themselves for torture." The Sceptics.

The principal opponents of Christianity among the Eclectics were the Neo-Pythagoreans and the Neo-Platonists. The former borrowed most of their doctrines from Pythagoras (584-504 B.C.); the latter, from Plato (429-348 B.C.). The Eclectics.

[1] *De morte Peregrini.*

The Neo-Pythagoreans.

Celsus[1] and Flavius Philostratus are the best representatives of the Neo-Pythagorean school. The former flourished during the first half of the second century,[2] and was a friend of Lucian, to whom he dedicated one of his works. He was a bitter opponent of Christianity, and collected all the objections that had been urged against it before his own time. These objections, together with many others from his own brain, were given to the world in his best-known work, *The Word of Truth.* The work itself has not come down to us; but sufficient extracts from it are preserved in Origen's *Contra Celsum* to give us an insight into its character, and to show the animus of the writer.

Philostratus.

Flavius Philostratus was a native of Lemnos, and was born about 175 A.D. He studied philosophy at Athens, and afterwards settled down at Rome, where he became one of the literary circle that gathered round the philosophic Julia, wife of the Emperor, Septimius Severus. The date and manner of his death are unknown. He attacked Christianity in its founder; not, however, directly, as Lucian and Celsus did, but indirectly, by describing one who was supposed to possess more claims than Christ to a divine mission. He selected as his hero, Apollonius of Tyana, in Cappadocia. The latter was contemporary with our Lord, and was a zealous follower of Pythagoras: after travelling through various parts of the East and of

[1] Celsus is set down by some as a Neo-Pythagorean; by others, as an Epicurean; and by others, as a Neo-Platonist. The truth appears to be that he borrowed largely from the doctrines of Pythagoras, Epicurus, and Plato, as well as from other philosophers; but the first mentioned appears to have been his favourite philosopher.

[2] Some hold that he flourished during the latter half of the second century. See Rob., i. 46.

the West, he finally settled down at Ephesus, where he opened a Pythagorean school, and died at the advanced age of a hundred years. About a century after his death his life was written by Philostratus. He is described as a man who led a most austere life, taught sublime doctrines and worked the most wonderful miracles. Christ is not referred to throughout the work. "But it is easy to see that the silence is affected; and that Jesus is the model from which he (Philostratus) has portrayed his hero, is evident from the similarity of the miracles attributed to Apollonius with those wrought by our Redeemer."[1] The silence observed by Philostratus was, however, broken by Hierocles, governor at first of Bithynia, and afterwards of Egypt, who in a work styled *Philalethes*,[2] drew a contrast between Christ and Apollonius, and proclaimed the latter before the former in sanctity, learning, and power. In modern times, the attempt to show the superiority of Apollonius to Christ has been repeated by some free-thinkers, such as Voltaire and Blount.

The Life of Apollonius.

Hierocles.

The Neo-Platonists supplied the ablest and most dangerous opponents of Christianity. Theirs was "the latest school of heathen philosophy in which an attempt was made to supersede the atheism of the Academics by a system in which polytheism was practically, as well as theoretically, repudiated, and an alliance sought between the residuum of philosophical heathenism and Christianity."[3] They maintained that all religious, as well as philosophic truth, was contained in paganism, but that it had become

The Neo-Platonists.

[1] Doll., *Hist. of the Church*, vol. i., 103.

[2] It was written during the reign of Diocletian (284-305). The work itself has been lost, but we know its substance from a refutation of it written by Eusebius of Caesarea.

[3] Blunt, *Dict. of Hist. Theol.*, art. "Neo-Platonism."

much obscured by spurious additions. It was felt by them, that if Paganism was to hold its ground against Christianity, it was necessary to remove those additions, and present its doctrines in a form more conformable to the requirements of reason. Their views regarding Christianity were somewhat similar to what they held about paganism. They admitted that Christ was a sage of the first class, who came to reform religion, and taught the same form of belief as themselves; but they maintained that the Christian religion, as taught in their time, had been very much corrupted by popular additions. To reform Christianity and paganism, and to teach a new religion, free from the defects of both, was the work which the Neo-Platonists set before themselves.

Ammonius Saccas.

According to the generally received opinion, the Neo-Platonic school was founded at Alexandria, in the reign of Septimius Severus (193-211), by Ammonius Saccas. He was born of Christian parents, at Alexandria, during the second half of the second century. In his early years, he was a porter or sack-carrier—hence his name; he afterwards applied himself to the study of philosophy, especially that of Plato. By a comprehensive system of eclecticism he formed a new philosophic creed, the tenets of which were taken from every system of philosophy, and every form of religious belief then prevalent. Notwithstanding the unchristian character of his teaching, both Eusebius[1] and St. Jerome[2] held, against Porphyry, that he remained in outward communion with the Church till his death (243). Many Christians, such as Origen, attended his lectures. He left no writings behind him.

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, vi. 19.

[2] *De Viris Illust.*, c. 55.

The Neo-Platonic system of Ammonius was developed by his pupil Plotinus, a native of Lycopolis, in Egypt. On the death of his master, he left Alexandria, where the new philosophy immediately began to languish, travelled through India and Syria, and finally settled down at Rome, in 244. Here he taught his doctrines to large crowds of students, both male and female, who came to attend his lectures. He strongly insisted on the practise of asceticism, and on the excellence of the purely contemplative mode of life. He died at Puteoli, in 270, at the age of 66 years. He wrote as many as fifty-four works, which were afterwards revised and corrected by his pupil Porphyry. Plotinus.

Porphyry, the next great teacher of Neo-Platonism, was the man from whom it received its fullest development. He was born at Batanea in Syria, in the year 233. He studied rhetoric under Longinus, at Athens. In the year 260, he went to Rome, where he became a pupil of Plotinus, and embraced the Neo-Platonic doctrines. Having visited Sicily, Carthage, and Athens, he finally settled down at Rome, where he died in the year 305. He was a very voluminous writer, and a bitter opponent of Christianity. Of the sixty works attributed to him, forty-three are entirely lost. His principal work was his *Fifteen Books against the Christians.* It was refuted by Apollinaris of Laodicea, Eusebius of Caesarea, and other defenders of Catholic doctrine, and was destroyed by order of Theodosius II. (408-50). Porphyry.

On the death of Porphyry, his pupil Iamblichus, a native of Chalcis in Syria, became the principal exponent of Neo-Platonism. He contributed much to make the new system popular. His followers maintained that he was inspired, and endowed with the power of working miracles; Iamblichus.

hence they bestowed on him the titles of "Divine" and "Wonderful." He is said to have died at Alexandria about 333. His chief work, *On the Choice of Pythagoras*, was written against the Christians. It consisted of ten books, all which, except the fifth and sixth, have come down to us.

Proclus.

Proclus was the last great teacher of Neo-Platonism. He was born at Constantinople, in 412, and studied first at Alexandria, and afterwards at Athens. He was an ardent student of Neo-Platonic philosophy, and continued to teach and defend its doctrines till the end of his life (485).

The philosophic religion introduced by Ammonius, and developed and systematized by his successors, "spread itself in the course of years throughout the empire, with bitter hostility and serious detriment to the interests of the true religion, till at length obtaining, in the person of Julian,[1] a second apostate for its advocate, it became the authorized interpretation and apology for the state polytheism."[2] It was the last great effort to give paganism a new lease of life, and continued to supply dangerous opponents to Christianity down to the sixth century.

The end of Neo-Platonism.

Though the Neo-Platonists nominally rejected Christianity, they borrowed from it many of their doctrines. There can, for instance, be no doubt regarding the Christian origin of their teaching about the three hypostases[3] in the Godhead, their powers (δαίμονες) corresponding to our angels, and their comparatively pure and strict code of morality.

[1] Julian was one of the pupils of Iamblichus.

[2] Newman, *Arians of the Fourth Century*, p. 102.

[3] The Neo-Platonic Trinity consisted of the Divine Essence (οὐσία), the ntelligence (νοῦς), and the soul (ψυχή).

CHAPTER V.

THE TEN GENERAL PERSECUTIONS OF THE CHURCH.

THERE were very few periods during the first three centuries when the Church could be said to be free from persecution. But when we speak of the General Persecutions, we refer to certain periods, when either new enactments were passed against the Christians, or old ones enforced with special severity throughout most of the Roman Empire. The number of such periods is now generally fixed at ten. Such, however, was not always the case. For instance, Lactantius[1] who flourished early in the fourth century, reckons only six; Eusebius,[2] a contemporary writer, mentions nine; while other writers enumerate as many as fifteen. Sulpitius Severus,[3] a writer of the fifth century, appears to be the first who settled on ten as the number of the General Persecutions, though he gives the history of only nine. This difference of opinion obviously arose from the difficulty of determining how far some of the persecutions should be regarded as general.

The number of the General Persecutions.

Even those who agree on ten, as the number of the General Persecutions, differ among themselves about some

[1] *De Mort. Persecut.*

[2] *Eccl. Hist.*

[3] *Historia Sacra.* He appears to have settled on this number, in allusion either to the ten plagues of Egypt, or to the ten horns of the beast in the Apocalypse.

of those that should be reckoned among the number. The ten usually enumerated are those under Nero, Domitian, Trajan, Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Maximin, Decius, Valerian, Aurelian, and Diocletian. Those under Nero, Trajan, Maximin, Decius, and Diocletian, were the severest.

The First General Persecution (64-68).

This persecution broke out under Nero (54-68), and was the first[1] directed against the Christians as such. It was occasioned by the burning of Rome in the year 64, which was generally supposed to be the work of the Emperor. He endeavoured to divert public suspicion from himself by laying it to the credit of the Christians, and ordering a general persecution to be carried on against them as enemies of the State. They were subjected to various forms of torture. Some had stones tied about their necks, and were then cast into the Tiber; others were covered with the skins of wild beasts to be devoured by dogs; others were crucified; and others, in fine, were covered with inflammable materials, and set on fire to illuminate the city by night. We are told by Tacitus, that "a vast multitude of Christians" were put to death in Rome during this persecution; while we have it on the authority of Pliny the Younger,[2] Eusebius,[3] and Sulpitius Severus,[4] that it raged throughout most of the Roman Empire. The most

Cruel treatment of the Christians.

[1] Before this the Christians were persecuted by the Roman authorities; we are told, for instance, by Suetonius (*Vita Claudii*, c. 25), that they were driven out of Rome by Claudius (41-54). But they were then looked on as a sect among the Jews.

[2] Ep., lib. x., n. 97.

[3] *Eccles. Hist.*

[4] *Hist. Sacra; vide* Palma, cap. vii.

remarkable martyrs were the three Apostles, SS. Peter, Paul, and Andrew.

Rome tolerant of every religion save one.

It may at first sight appear strange that Rome, while tolerating so many forms of religious worship, and even raising statues to the various Gentile gods, should be so intolerant of Christianity. She, the mistress of many nations, was prepared to tolerate any form of belief that could claim to be the religion of one of those nations, and that would in return be tolerant of other forms of belief. But Christianity, being intended for all nations, was not the religion of any one people; neither was it tolerant of other forms of belief, for its mission was to extirpate religious error by declaring the truth. Hence the severity of the treatment meted out to Christianity by the capital of the pagan world.

The Second General Persecution (95-96).

This persecution began under Domitian (81-96), in the year 95, when an imperial edict was issued, ordering the Christians to be persecuted as enemies of the State. No other reason is assigned for this edict than the Emperor's hatred of virtue, and the advice of wicked counsellors. During the persecution, which continued for two years, many suffered martyrdom both in Rome and other parts of the Empire. Among those we may mention Flavius Clemens, a cousin of the Emperor, and Glabrio, who had been Consul with Trajan.[1] Domitilla, the wife of Flavius, and a near relative of the Emperor, was banished to the island of Pandataria.

Numerous martyrs

It was during this persecution that St. John the Evangelist was thrown into a caldron of boiling oil, before

[1] *Dio Cassius and Brutus, apud Eusebium, Chronicon.*

the Latin Gate, and afterwards banished to the island of Patmos.

Descendants of King David before Domitian

It was represented to the Emperor that the Jews looked forward to a Messiah who should spring from the house of David, and that as long as any member of that family existed, the Jews would never calmly submit to foreign rule. Whereupon the Emperor ordered all descendants of King David to be sought out, and brought before him. When some of them, on being presented to him, showed their hands swollen with labour, they were instantly dismissed with scorn, as unlikely to compete with him for supremacy in Palestine.

The Third General Persecution (106-117).

Cause of the Persecution.

Trajan (98-117) was the next Roman Emperor who persecuted the Church. He did not begin his persecuting policy till the ninth year of his reign, when on returning victorious from the conquest of the Scythians, Dacians, and other nations, he found that there was but one thing wanting to complete his universal sway, viz., the submission of the Christians, who refused to take part in the public service of thanksgiving to the gods for his victories.[1] He resolved to make them, if possible, embrace the religion of the State. For this purpose he ordered all the laws passed against them by Nero and Domitian to be enforced,[2] and issued a new edict against *Secret Assemblies* (*Hacteriae*). This edict was directed, at least in effect against the Christians, for, owing to their civil disabilities, they could not hold their meetings in public.

Pliny the Younger, Proconsul of Pontus and Bithynia,

[1] Acts of the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, supposed to have been written by a contemporary. *Greek Patrol.*, v. 979.

[2] Tertul., *Ad Nationes*, 1, 7. See Rob., Bk. i., c. 2.

was uncertain about the state of the laws against the Christians. He wrote to the Emperor for instructions. It was stated in the letter that he had inquired into their mode of life, and that the only fault he could discover was their excessive superstition. "They are accustomed," he wrote,[1] "to assemble on certain days before sunrise, and sing together hymns in honour of Christ, whom they revere as God. They oblige themselves by an oath to avoid all crimes, to commit neither fraud, nor adultery, nor robbery; never to break their word, nor violate their trust. They then retire; and reassemble to partake together of an ordinary and innocent repast." Trajan, in his reply, was guilty of a most glaring inconsistency. He ordered his Proconsul "not to search for the Christians, but to punish them if they persevered in their profession of faith after they had been denounced and convicted."[2]

Pliny the Younger writes to the Emperor for instructions.

Many suffered martyrdom during this persecution, especially in Asia Minor, where it raged fiercest. Of these SS. Simeon and Ignatius are the most noteworthy. The former was a kinsman of our Lord, and a cousin of St. James the Less, whom he succeeded as Bishop of Jerusalem. After ruling this see for forty years, he was denounced to the Proconsul, Atticus, as a Christian, and a descendant of the royal house of David. He was condemned to death and was crucified, about 106, at the advanced age of 120 years.[3]

Noteworthy martyrs.

[1] Ep. Lib. x., n. 97.

[2] Eusebius, *E.H.*, iii., c. 33. Tertullian in his *Apologeticum* (c. 2) animadverts severely on the conduct of the Emperor. "O Sententiam necessitate confusam! Negat inquirendos ut innocentes, et mandat puniri ut nocentes: parcet et saevit; dissimulat et animadvertit. Quid temetipsum censura circumvenis? Si damnas, cur non inquiris? Si non inquiris, cur non absolvis?"

[3] Hegesippus, apud Euseb., *E.H.*, iii., c. 22.

St. Ignatius of Antioch.

St. Ignatius, the third Bishop[1] of Antioch, was summoned before the Emperor on the return of the latter, in the year 107, from the conquest of the Parthians. He was ordered to offer sacrifice to the gods, but he steadfastly refused; upon which the Emperor pronounced sentence of death against him. "We ordain," he said,[2] "that Ignatius, who boasts that he carries Christ in his breast,[3] shall be chained and taken to Rome, to be exposed to wild beasts in the amphitheatre during the public festivities." The imperial decree was executed, and St. Ignatius was torn to pieces by two lions, probably in the year 107.[4]

The persecution continued under Hadrian.

The persecution continued, though in a mitigated form, during the first years of Hadrian's reign (117-38); hence the third persecution is placed under this Emperor by Sulpitius Severus. The persecution was practically terminated in 124, by an imperial edict, ordering that persecutions against the Christians should be conducted according to the laws of the Empire, and that, if any person were found bringing false charges against them, he should be severely punished. It is supposed that Hadrian, in issuing this edict, was influenced by the apologies of

[1] Eusebius says (*E.H.*, iii. c. 32) that St. Peter was the first Bishop of Antioch, Evodius the second, and Ignatius the third. St. Chrysostom, however, says (*Hom. on St. Ignatius*) that St. Ignatius was the immediate successor of St. Peter.

[2] Acts of his martyrdom.

[3] Hence called Theophoros.

[4] The seven Epistles of St. Ignatius, referred to by Irenaeus, Origen, &c, are extant. They were published by Ussher in 1644. Their authenticity has been denied by Neander (1266) and other writers; but, as Mosheim (160) justly remarks, "it is most likely that no doubt would have been raised about them, but for the argument which they supply in favour of the Episcopal form of Church government."

Aristides and Quadratus, and by a letter which he received in favour of the Christians from Serennius Granianus, Proconsul of Asia.

Martyrdom of Symphorosa and her seven sons.

Notwithstanding this edict, some isolated cases of martyrdom afterwards occurred. For instance, Symphorosa and her seven sons suffered towards the end of his reign. The Emperor had built a beautiful palace at Tivoli, sixteen miles from Rome. Before taking up his residence there, he offered sacrifice to the gods to propitiate them to deliver their oracles. They replied: "The widow Symphorosa and her seven sons daily torment us by invoking their God: if they sacrifice to us, we promise to be favourable to your wishes." Symphorosa, who lived in a beautiful mansion close by, was seized, together with her seven sons, and brought before the Emperor. She was asked to sacrifice to the gods; but she indignantly refused. She was then tormented in various ways, but to no purpose; and was finally cast into the river Anio, with a stone tied about her neck. On the following day her seven sons followed her example, and received the crown of martyrdom.

The Fourth General Persecution (161-180).

Marcus Aurelius devoted to paganism.

Marcus Aurelius (161-180), under whom this persecution broke out, is generally described as one of the noblest of pagans, and was always humane, except in his dealings with the Christians. He was an ardent student of philosophy, especially of Stoic philosophy; and was most devoted to paganism, which he looked upon as the mother of philosophy. This is the most probable explanation of the persecuting policy which he adopted towards Christianity, the avowed enemy of paganism. The new

religion was, moreover, viewed by him as an immoral superstition, and a species of mysterious political conspiracy, which, if allowed to go unchecked, might prove fatal to the interests of the Empire. Hence, he signalized the first year of his reign by issuing the following decree to the governors of the different provinces [1]:—"Marcus Aurelius to all his administrators and officers. We hear that they who call themselves Christians violate with impunity the laws of the Empire, and the ordinances of our predecessors. Arrest them, and if they refuse to sacrifice to our gods, punish them with divers torments. Be careful that justice be always allied with severity, and that punishment cease with the crime."

The publication of this decree was immediately followed by an outburst of popular feeling against the Christians. Their blood began to flow throughout the Roman Empire: some were crucified, others cast into rivers, and others thrown to wild beasts to be devoured. The persecution raged with greatest severity in Rome, Asia Minor, and Southern Gaul, especially at Lyons and Vienne.

The principal martyrs.

Felicitas and her seven sons suffered martyrdom at Rome. St. Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, and a former disciple of St. John, was placed on a pyre; but the flames encircled without injuring him, whereupon a spearman was ordered to plunge his sword into his breast. The order was instantly obeyed, and St. Polycarp passed to his reward (about 166). About the same time, St. Justin, the Christian apologist, and his five disciples were beheaded at Rome, by order of Rusticus, the prefect of the city.

Towards the end of this reign the Christians were

[1] Eusebius, *H.E.*, iv. 26. See Rob., 1, 36 note.

allowed a temporary respite from persecution. This has been generally ascribed to the miracle of the Thundering Legion. The Emperor was engaged in a campaign against the Quadi, a German tribe, during an exceptionally dry summer (174). The Roman soldiers were surprised by the enemy, and cut off from all means of getting water. There happened to be in one of the legions a large number of Christians, most of whom were from Melitene in Armenia. They threw themselves on their knees, and supplicated God for relief. Their prayer was heard ; immediately there was a heavy fall of rain. The soldiers, in their anxiety to satisfy their thirst, were thrown into disorder, whereupon they were attacked by the enemy. There arose, however, on a sudden, a violent storm of thunder, lightning, and hail, which drove full against the Quadi, without touching the Roman soldiers. The enemy were easily repulsed, and compelled to sue for peace. We are told by Eusebius,[1] that Marcus Aurelius bestowed the name of *Fulminatrix* on the legion to which the Christian soldiers belonged, and issued an edict forbidding any further persecution of their co-religionists. There can be no reasonable doubt regarding the miraculous deliverance of the Roman army, as it is testified to by Christian and pagan writers alike, as well as by an inscription on the Antonine Column in Rome. Many pagan writers ascribed the deliverance, as we should expect, to the intervention of Jupiter Pluvius. But that it was generally ascribed to the God of the Christians is sufficiently evident from the testimony of Eusebius, as well as from the subsequent cessation of hostilites against their religion. The Church

Miracle of the Thundering Legion.

Temporary cessation of the persecution.

[1] *E. H.*, v., c. 5.

enjoyed peace for about three years, after which the persecution broke out afresh. It raged with special fury about Lyons, whose aged bishop, Pothinus, was scourged, and then thrown into prison, where he shortly afterwards died. And Blandina, a youthful maiden of the same city, was fastened to a wild bull, and dragged to death.

The Fifth General Persecution (202-211).

Septimius Severus.

During the first year of his reign (193-211), Septimius Severus was favourable to the Christians, and raised many of them to posts of honour and trust, because he was indebted to one of them for the cure of a painful disease from which he had been long suffering. His gratitude, however, was destined to be of brief duration; he issued an edict, in 202, forbidding his subjects, under the severest penalties, to embrace Christianity, and renewed the law against secret assemblies.

His edict against the Christians.

Though these laws did not expressly forbid those who had been already Christians to practise their religion, they gave an opportunity to the governors who were hostile to Christianity to oppress the Christians.

The persecution raged throughout Egypt, Proconsular Africa, Gaul, and Italy; it was, however, severest in Alexandria and Proconsular Africa. In the former many suffered martyrdom, among them Leonides, the father of Origen, the virgin Photiniana, and the warrior Basilides, who conducted her to the place of execution, and was converted by her to the faith.

Martyrdom of Perpetua, Felicitas, &c.

The most remarkable martyrs of Proconsular Africa were Perpetua, Felicitas, Revocatus, Saturninus, and Secundulus. They were all catechumens, and were arrested at Carthage, in 202, on the charge of having

embraced Christianity. Perpetua was twenty-two years of age with an infant at her breast, and was of a most respectable family; her father was a pagan, and far advanced in years. She and her companions were cast into prison, where they were subjected to every species of torture.[1] They were shortly afterwards joined by Saturus, who was most probably their instructor in the faith. He underwent voluntary imprisonment in order to be with them and comfort them in their sufferings.

Perpetua's father appeals to her to sacrifice to the gods.

They were put on their trial before the Roman Procurator of Carthage. Perpetua's father used every device in his power to induce her to sacrifice to the gods. "Instead of *daughter* he called her *lady*; he kissed her hands, threw himself at her feet, and implored her—by the remembrance of his long care for her, and of the preference which he had shown her above his other children; by the grief of her family; by pity for her child, who could not live without her—to spare him and all her kindred the sorrow and the shame which would follow from her persevering in her profession. But Perpetua, although she was deeply affected by the old man's agitation, could only reply that all was in God's hands."[2] They were declared guilty, and condemned to be devoured by wild beasts. On the eve of their martyrdom they were regaled, according to custom, with a free supper, a meal at which condemned criminals were allowed all manner of self-indulgence. But, instead of indulging in the usual disorders, they converted it into

The eve of their martyrdom.

[1] Perpetua has written a most affecting description of the sufferings which herself and her companions had to endure up to the the eve of their martyrdom. Her description was supplemented by an eye-witness of their martyrdom. Migne's *Greek Patr.*, vol. iii.

[2] Rob., i., 95; Acta, 2, Migne's *Greek Patr.*, vol. iii.

a Christian Love-Feast. The dining-hall was filled with visitors, who had come to see how the martyrs would comport themselves before their execution. Saturus, however, administered to them a much-deserved rebuke. "Will not to-morrow," he said, "suffice to satisfy your inhuman curiosity in our regard? Mark our faces well now, that you may know us again on the Day of Judgment."[1] At these solemn words a feeling of fear seized on the pagan on-lookers, many of whom were immediately converted to the faith. Perpetua and her companions, with the exception of Secundulus, who had already died in prison, were executed on the following day. The history of the execution of the Scillitan[2] martyrs, who likewise suffered during this persecution, is equally touching.

The persecution was also very severe at Lyons, where, according to Gregory of Tours, so many were put to death that the streets of the city flowed with their blood. The most noteworthy of these martyrs was St. Irenaeus, the saintly Bishop of the city († 202). He was a disciple of St. Polycarp, and is described by Tertullian,[3] a contemporary writer, as "the most diligent searcher of all doctrines," and by Theodoret[4] as "the light of the Western Gauls." In his principal work, *Against Heresies*, he describes and refutes the errors of the Gnostic sects of his time.

St. Irenaeus.

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[1] *Ibidem.*

[2] They were from Scillite, a city of Proconsular Africa—hence their name—and were thirteen in number, viz., Vestini, Donata, Secunda, together with three female and seven male companions.

[3] *Contra Valent.*, c. 5.

[4] Haer., i., c. 7.

The Sixth General Persecution (235-238).

Maximin the Thracian (235-238) was raised to the imperial throne on the assassination of Alexander Severus [1] (222-235). He was utterly regardless of all forms of religion; he melted down for personal use the gold and silver ornaments of the heathen temples, and even the statues of the gods. The persecuting policy pursued by him against the Christians, was not due to his devotion to paganism, but rather to hatred of his predecessor, who had been kindly disposed towards them. His edicts were chiefly directed against the clergy, many of whom suffered martyrdom, among them being two Popes, viz., St. Pontianus († 235) and St. Antherus († 236).

The Seventh General Persecution (249-251).

Cause of the persecution.

The two immediate successors of Maximin, viz., Gordian (238-44), and Philip the Arab [2] (244-9) treated the Christians

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[1] Alexander Severus had a statue of our Saviour in his oratory, and contemplated building a temple in His honour; from which it has been inferred by some that he was a Christian. But the conclusion does not appear to be warranted by facts, for he had in the same oratory statues, not only of Roman gods, but also of the gods of other nations. So much did he admire the precept of charity laid down by Christ, "Whatsoever you would that men should do to you, do you also to them," that he had it inscribed on the walls of his palace and on other public buildings (Lamp., *Vita Alex. Sev.*, c. 22, 29, 30). There is, perhaps, more room for doubt about the religion of his mother, Mammaea. She is described both by Eusebius (*E. H.*, vi. 28) and by St. Jerome (*De Viris Ill.*, c. 54) as a "very devout woman;" and she summoned Origen to her presence, in order that she might learn from him the mysteries of the Christian religion. Hence it has been inferred by Tillemont (*Hist. des Emp.*, iii. 279) that she was a Christian. It is, however, more generally held that she never embraced Christianity; but that she was very attentive to the exercises of her own religion, and contented herself with becoming acquainted with the principal doctrines of the Christians, to whom she was always well disposed.

[2] Both Eusebius (*Chronicon*, Ad. an. 246) and Orosius state that Philip the Arab was a Christian. And Origen wrote letters to both himself and

with toleration, if not with favour. But when Decius (249-51) became Emperor, the persecution of the Christians was renewed. On ascending the throne he expressed his determination to extirpate Christianity from his dominions. He issued an edict that all Christians should sacrifice to the gods; that on refusing to comply they were to be subjected to various kinds of torments; and that, if lesser punishments failed to shake their constancy, they were to be put to death. On the publication of this edict, the severest persecution that had yet been carried on against them began. All legal forms of procedure were suspended; the accusers of Christians ran no risk, and popular clamour took the place of judicial condemnation. All the instruments of torture which human cruelty could suggest were called into requisition; the ordinary prisons were insufficient to contain the multitudes arrested for the faith, so that it became necessary to convert many of the public buildings into prisons. Those who were proof against all the artifices of the persecutors, were finally put to death.

This persecution specially severe.

Among those who suffered during this persecution, the

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his wife. These letters have not come down to us; but they were extant in the time of St. Jerome, and from the insight we get into them from his writings they would appear to have been written by a Christian teacher to converts to the faith. Eusebius (*E. H.*, vi. c. 3) mentions a tradition current in his time, that Philip was anxious to be present at the paschal solemnities in the Church of Antioch, but that he was excluded by Babylas, Bishop of that see, till he had performed a course of penance for his sins, especially for the murder of Gordian his predecessor. From this it has been inferred by some (*v. g.* Niebuhr) that he was a catechumen till a short time before his death, when he received baptism. Most writers, however, hold that he never embraced Christianity; and that the only foundation for the report of his conversion is to be found in the favour with which he treated the Christians. It is indeed difficult to see how a person taking part in pagan solemnities so frequently as Philip did, could have been, even privately, a Christian.

most prominent were Fabian, Bishop of Rome; Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem; Babylas, Bishop of Antioch; and Agatha, a native of Sicily. The last mentioned belonged to an illustrious family, and was specially noted for her beauty. The governor of Sicily wished to have her in marriage, but she refused, whereupon he took advantage of her faith to persecute her. She was at first given in charge to a woman of evil fame, for the purpose of having her virtue undermined; but she was proof against this ordeal. She was then placed on the rack, and tortured in various ways; even her breasts were torn away. But she was miraculously cured on the following night. The governor's passion for torture was not yet satisfied. She was again placed, by his orders, on the rack over a slow fire, where she was allowed to expire in excruciating torture.

It was during this persecution that the "Seven Sleepers of Ephesus" suffered martyrdom. These were seven brothers who fled from Ephesus to avoid the cruelty of the persecutors, and took refuge in a neighbouring cave, where they were shut up, and "allowed to sleep in the Lord." There is a legend which represents them revisiting the scenes of their boyhood, in the reign of Theodosius the Great (379-95), and being filled with astonishment at the wonderful change that had come over the religious condition of the people.

The Lapsed

But if many suffered for the faith during the reign of Decius, there were also many whose constancy failed before the ordeal to which they were subjected. The latter were called the *Lapsed*. Of these there were four classes, viz., the *Sacrificati*, who offered sacrifice to the gods; the *Thurificati*, who offered incense; the *Libellatici*, who, on the payment of liberal bribes procured from the Roman

magistrates, certificates stating that they had offered sacrifice to the gods; and the *Acta Facientes*, or *Evil Doers*, who, by writing their names in the public registers, declared their willingness to conform to the laws of the country in all matters of civil and religious interest.

Causes of the large number of the Lapsed.

There were special reasons why the Lapsed should be more numerous during this than during any previous persecution. First, the Christians had enjoyed a long period of peace since the death of Severus till the accession of Decius, with the exception of the brief reign of Maximin. This had the effect of bringing about in their minds an attachment to the things of earth, and a consequent decay of Christian fervour. And secondly, they were subjected to various kinds of torture before being put to death, for the purpose of shaking their constancy. Many, who would have courageously met a speedy death, became disheartened at the thought of the slow and painful sufferings through which they had to pass. St. Jerome has given us a description of what the Christians had to endure under Decius. "The Christians," he writes, "were first stretched upon the rack, and burned with heated hoops or plates of iron. They were then covered with honey, and placed, with their hands bound behind them, in the burning sun exposed to the stings of gnats and wasps. In this state they were allowed to die and putrefy." When we consider the terrible ordeal through which the martyrs had to pass, our wonder is not that many failed, but that such multitudes, knowing what they had to endure, braved all for the sake of Christ.

When the persecution ceased, many of the Lapsed wished to become reconciled to the Church, and to be admitted to the Holy Eucharist. To shorten the period of penance to which they were liable, they procured from the

martyrs and confessors[1] letters of recommendation to their bishops. These letters were frequently accepted as equivalent to canonical penances. This is the first instance in which we find a distinct admission, in practice, of the doctrine of indulgences. After a short time the practice gave rise to many abuses. Some confessors undertook to give letters of recommendation to everyone that asked them, and claimed the right of shortening the canonical penances, to the great injury of Church discipline. Against such conduct St. Cyprian vehemently protested; of this, however, we shall see more when treating of his life.

Doctrine of Indulgences admitted.

The Eighth General Persecution (253-60).

Dionysius of Alexandria says[2] that Valerian (253-60) was favourable to the Christians during the first years of his reign. He changed his policy about the year 257, at the instigation, it is supposed, of Macrianus, his chief adviser, who is said to have been connected with the Egyptian Magicians. He issued two edicts against the Christians. By the first, he forbade them to hold assemblies for religious worship, and commanded that the bishops and priests who refused to sacrifice to the gods should be sent into exile. Finding this edict insufficient to check the spread of the Gospel, he issued the second, which was much more severe, "ordaining that bishops, priests, and deacons should be beheaded; that senators and knights should suffer the loss of their possessions, and even death, if they should persevere in their disobedience; that females of high rank should be banished; and that Christians in

Edicts of Valerian against the Christians.

[1] *Confessors* were those who endured persecution for the faith without being put to death.

[2] Apud *Eusebium*, vii. 10.

the court of the Emperor should be bound in chains, and condemned to labour at his imperial pleasure." [1] Valerian intended to gain over the lower classes to the religion of the State by depriving them of their teachers and recognised leaders. But in this he was disappointed; many of them followed their spiritual guides into exile, and thus became the means of spreading Christianity in other countries.

The chief martyrs.

Pope Sixtus and the holy deacon Laurence suffered martyrdom in Rome. The latter was required to deliver up to the prefect of the city the treasures which, it was stated, the Christians had placed at his disposal. He collected the poor of the city into his church, and presented them to the prefect, as the only treasure he possessed. He was placed on a gridiron, and slowly roasted to death. St. Cyprian was decapitated before the walls of Carthage; and Fructuosus, Bishop of Tarragona, with his two deacons suffered martyrdom in Spain.

Multitudes were put to death for the faith in different parts of the Empire. We are told by St. Augustine,[2] that one hundred and fifty-three martyrs[3] suffered together at Utica. They were allowed the alternative of sacrificing to the gods, or being thrown alive into a pit filled with quicklime. They all instantly accepted the latter alternative; and hence are known in history as the *Massa Candida*. Valerian was taken captive by the Persians (260), by whom he was put to death. His son and successor, Gallienus (260-268), put an end to the persecution, and issued the first edicts of toleration in favour of the Christians. They were declared a *lawful society*,

Gallienus.

[1] Doll., *History of the Church*, i. 89.

[2] Serm. 306.

[3] According to Prudentius (*Hym.* xiii.) the number was three hundred.

and, as such, were to be protected in their civil and religious rights by the laws of the Empire.

The Ninth General Persecution (274-275).

Aurelian (270-5) was at first favourable to the Christians ; but in the fourth year of his reign he conceived the idea of acquiring for himself an imperishable name by accomplishing what so many of his predecessors failed to effect, viz., the extirpation of Christianity from the Roman Empire. He who formed such an idea of his own power was destined to be less successful than any of his predecessors, for he was assassinated within eight months after he had issued his edict against the Christians. In the meantime, however, many had suffered martyrdom, among them being St. Felix, Bishop of Rome.

Ambition the cause of this persecution.

The Tenth General Persecution (303-324).

The tenth and last General Persecution was the severest which the Church had yet to endure. It began under the Emperor Diocletian (284-305), and continued in several parts of the Empire for many years after he had ceased to rule. He was born at Salona, in Dalmatia, in 245, and was of humble parentage. He became a soldier, and served with distinction in several campaigns. On the murder of Numerianus, who was joint Emperor with Carus, he was proclaimed Emperor, in 284. And in the following year he became sole ruler of the Roman Empire by the death of Carus, who was murdered by his officers.

Diocletian divides the Empire.

The Empire was so much exposed to attack from barbarian invaders, both in the East and in the West, that he made Maximianus his colleague in 286. He shared with the latter the responsibility of the imperial goverment, and bestowed on him the title of Augustus of the West.

In adopting this course, it is supposed that he was influenced by consideration for his personal safety; for he remembered, that since the time of Marcus Aurelius, only three or four emperors had met with a natural death; and he believed that assassins would be deterred from carrying out their wicked designs on his life through fear of punishment at the hands of the surviving Emperor. To make additional provision for his personal safety and the security of his throne, he surrounded himself with all the pomp of oriental splendour, and assumed the titles of *Divinity* and *Sacred Majesty*.

In 292, he made a further division of the Empire, by taking two additional colleagues, viz., Constantius Chlorus and Galerius, both of whom he made Cæsars. In this fourfold division of the Empire, Diocletian governed the East, with Nicomedia as his seat of government; Maximianus, Italy and Africa, with Milan as his residence; Constantius Chlorus, Gaul, Spain, and Britain, with Treves as his headquarters; and Galerius, Illyricum, or the country lying along the Danube, with Sirmium as his capital.

For fourteen years after Diocletian became Emperor, the Christians enjoyed freedom of worship. Many belonging to the highest grades of society professed their faith, among whom we may mention Prisca, the wife of Diocletian, and Valeria, the wife of Galerius.

Causes that led to the persecution.

Many circumstances contributed to make Diocletian change his policy, and follow the example of so many of his predecessors in persecuting the Christians. *(a)* Galerius had learned from his mother, who was very devoted to paganism, to view Christianity with feelings of intense hatred; and he did all in his power to instil his own feelings into the mind of Diocletian. *(b)* The attacks made on

Christianity by the Neo-Platonist Porphyry in his *Word of Truth* served to prejudice the Emperor against it. (*c*) The lawyers, generals, and governors of provinces, on being consulted by the Emperor, condemned the toleration of Christianity. (*d*) The god Apollo was consulted; and the answer, which was delivered in the presence of the Emperor, was to the effect that his oracular utterances were very much restrained by the presence of the *righteous* on earth. The *righteous* were interpreted to be the Christians. (*e*) And, finally, the entrails of animals, on being examined, failed to give any signs. The soothsayers attributed the failure to the anger of the gods at being deserted by their worshippers.

The persecution commences.

The first indication of the new policy of persecution was given by an edict issued in 298, ordering soldiers and others in the public service of the State to offer sacrifice to the gods. But the persecution did not begin in earnest till 303, when, on the feast of *Terminalia* (February 23rd), the Christian Church of Antioch was destroyed by order of the Emperor. On the following day the first edict was issued against the Christians, ordering in general their sacred edifices to be destroyed, their Scriptures and other books of piety to be burned,[1] and torture to be freely used against them. This edict was followed by three others, each surpassing the preceding in drastic cruelty. Rewards of different kinds were promised to such as would betray the faith, while steadfast adherence to it was to be punished by death, accompanied by various kinds of torture.

These edicts were immediately carried into effect

[1] Those who delivered up the Scriptures to the persecutors were called *Traditors*. Many, as, for example, Felix, an African Bishop, suffered death rather than give them up.

Its severity.

throughout the Empire, but with varying degrees of severity, according to the dispositions of the different rulers. They were enforced with the greatest cruelty by Galerius in the East; while Constantius Chlorus secretly favoured the Christians in the West. But even Constantius could not openly disobey the edicts of Diocletian; hence we find that many were put to death in his provinces, as, for instance, St. Alban, the proto-martyr of Britain (303). In other parts of the Empire the blood of Christians flowed freely for the faith. Among the more prominent martyrs were Peter, Patriarch of Alexandria; Januarius, Bishop of Naples; Sebastian, prefect of the praetorian cohort; Mauritius, commander of the Theban Legion[1]; and, probably, Marcellinus,[2] Bishop of Rome.

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[1] This legion was so called, because it was largely recruited from Thebais in Egypt. It was one of the legions sent by Diocletian to assist Maximianus in carrying out his edicts. They refused to offer sacrifice to the gods or to persecute the Christians, whereupon they were all martyred at Agaunum (now St. Maurice, in the canton of Vaud). The name of St. Maurice is much revered throughout Switzerland.

[2] According to most of the ancient martyrologies cited in the *Acta Sanctorum* (April 26th) Marcellinus suffered death for the faith. His memory was calumniated by the Donatists, who had the report circulated that he offered incense to the gods, but that repenting shortly afterwards he presented himself before a Council of three hundred bishops assembled at Sinuessa to consider the charge against him. The report of the alleged fall was for a long time believed, and was inserted in the Lessons of the Roman Breviary. It is, however, now rejected as groundless by most writers of note. Natalis Alexander (In Saec. vi. Diss. 20), Tillemont (v. 615), and others have shown that the story of the alleged Council of Sinuessa was a pure fabrication of the Donatists. The mere impossibility of so many bishops assembling in Italy during the heat of the Diocletian persecution, would be sufficient to disprove it. The only authority for the alleged fall is the testimony of the Donatists, who, for the purpose of giving a colouring of truth to their statement, forged the acts of the supposed Council of Sinuessa. St. Augustine, in his work against Petilius, a Donatist Bishop, who is supposed to have been the author of the report, says: "He accuses Marcellinus of being a

The number that suffered death during this persecution cannot be determined with any accuracy; but that they are to be reckoned by thousands[1] is evident from the concurrent testimony of all early writers on the subject. "The pagans, who witnessed their sufferings, were at length disgusted with such profusion of bloodshed and cruelty; the persecutors themselves became weary of slaying, and resorted to other punishments, such as mutilation of the limbs, plucking out the eyes, employing bishops and other eminent persons in degrading occupations, and sending large numbers of all classes to labour in unwholesome mines."[2]

Resignation of Diocletian and Maximianus.

The persecution raged in all its fury till 305, when Diocletian suddenly resigned the imperial dignity; and Maximianus was compelled, though much against his will, to do likewise. The positions thus vacated were filled by Galerius and Constantius Chlorus. They took, as associates[3] in the government of the Empire, Maximin and Severus, whom they named Cæsars. Severus, who received Italy as his province, was opposed by Maxentius, son of Maximianus. The latter took possession of Rome

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traditor, a wicked and sacrilegious man; I declare him innocent. It is not necessary to weary myself to prove his innocence, for Petilius does not attempt to prove his guilt." By order of Leo XIII., the account of the alleged fall of Marcellinus, has been expunged from the Roman Breviary.

[1] Gibbon (1,306), following his usual practice of undervaluing everything Christian, gives only 2,000 as the number of martyrs during this persecution. For the extent of the persecutions under the different Roman Emperors, see Palma (*Præl. Hist. Eccle.*), who shows how groundless are the statements of Dodwell, an Anglican writer of the seventeenth century, regarding the fewness of the martyrs.

[2] Rob: Bk. i., cap. 7; Eusebius, *E. H.*, viii. 19.

[3] Galerius shortly afterwards created Licinius joint Augustus of the East.

and maintained his sway in Italy, till his defeat by Constantine the Great, in 312.

After the resignation of Diocletian, the condition of the Christians in the great divisions of the Empire depended entirely on the dispositions of the ruling Augustus or Cæsar towards them. They were free from persecution in Spain, Gaul, and Britain; for Constantius, who held sway in these provinces, openly befriended them on becoming Augustus. And the policy of Constantius was followed by his son and successor, Constantine the Great. Severus and Maxentius had too much to do in contending with each other for supremacy in Italy, to pay much attention to the persecution of the Christians. Still, some of them suffered martyrdom, as Marcellus (310), the last of the martyred Popes in the early ages of the Church.

Galerius and Maximin continued to persecute the Christians of the East in their respective provinces of Asia Minor and Syria. Towards the end of his life the former began to realise the uselessness of his efforts to check the spread of Christianity, and being attacked by a loathsome and excruciating disease, he issued in 311 an edict in his own name, and those of Licinius and Constantine, allowing the Christians to practise their religion and rebuild their churches, provided that they were prepared to observe the laws of the State. He concluded his edict with a request that they would offer up prayers to their God for his safety. He died the same year, and was succeeded in the government of the Roman province of Asia by Maximin. The latter renewed the persecution of the Christians. It continued till 313, when he was defeated by Licinius, and committed suicide by taking poison, to avoid falling into the hands of the victor.

First edict of toleration.

After the battle of the Milvian Bridge (312),[1] and the defeat and death of Maxentius, a second edict of toleration, much more favourable to the Christians than the first, was issued at Milan in the joint names of Constantine and Licinius, the latter of whom had married Constantia, the sister of Constantine. By this edict, liberty was granted to all to embrace the Christian religion, and the churches and other property confiscated on the Christians were to be restored. It was immediately carried into effect in all the provinces of the Roman Empire, as Maximin, the only person in power who would oppose it, was defeated by Licinius early in the year 313. Second edict of toleration.

In 319, Licinius renewed the persecution of the Christians, which continued till his defeat by Constantine at the battles of Adrianople and Chrysopolis[2] (324). The latter then publicly professed Christianity, and made it the religion of the State. Thus did the Christian religion triumph over the powers of the Pagan world, and come victorious from the persecutions to which it was subject for nearly three hundred years. Triumph of Christianity.

[1] For an account of the battle of the Milvian Bridge, as well as of the other events in the life of Constantine, see chap., Constantine the Great.

[2] Now Scutari.

CHAPTER VI.

THE EARLY CHRISTIAN APOLOGISTS.

If Christianity was the subject of numerous written attacks during the early ages of the Church, it had also many able defenders who were raised up by God to answer the objections urged against it, and to establish its claims to a divine origin. These are known in history as the Christian Apologists.

Aristides and Quadratus.

The first Christian Apologists, whose names have come down to us, were Aristides and Quadratus, the former a converted philosopher, and the latter a missionary and disciple of the Apostles.[1] They wrote to Hadrian in defence of Christianity about the year 124. Their apologies, which are lost, appear to have been well received by the Emperor, for after the first few years of his reign, the persecution against the Christians ceased.

During the persecution under Marcus Aurelius many Christian Apologists wrote defences of their religion against the false charges brought against it. The chief of these were Justin Martyr, Tatian, and Athenagoras.

Justin Martyr.

Justin, one of the most celebrated of the early Apologists, was born of Pagan parents in Neapolis,[2] a city of Samaria, towards the end of the first century. He

[1] Some think that Quadratus the Apologist is the same as the Quadratus mentioned by Eusebius (*E. H.*, iv. 23) as Bishop of Athens.

[2] Now called Naplouse, founded on the site of the ancient Sichem.

studied and mastered every system of Greek philosophy, but failed to find there the truth for which his soul yearned. He happened to be walking one day along the sea-shore, musing on the doctrines of Plato, his favourite philosopher, when he met an unknown man, by whom his attention was directed to the Sacred Scriptures, as the source of that higher knowledge which he was seeking for in vain in pagan philosophy. He did as he was recommended, and the study of the sublime truths of Revelation resulted in his conversion, towards the end of Hadrian's reign. After his conversion he continued to wear the philosopher's pallium or cloak; this secured for him a respectful hearing from many who would have been otherwise unwilling to listen to him. He devoted the remainder of his life to preaching and defending the new faith; for "everyone," he used to say, "who can preach the truth, and does not preach it, incurs the judgment of God." There is no evidence to show that he took priest's orders; but that he was a deacon appears probable from his preaching on many occasions. Shortly after becoming a Christian he went to Rome, where he opened a school of Christian Theology, about the year 150. In teaching and illustrating the truths of revelation, he drew largely on pagan philosophy.

His conversion.

He wrote two apologies. The first was addressed to Antoninus Pius (138-61), his two sons, and the Roman Senate. In it he refuted the calumnies circulated against the Christians by their enemies, and appealed to the Emperor to stop the persecution carried on against them by some governors in virtue of previous edicts. He asked that they should not be punished simply because of their name, but only when, as their fellow-subjects, they were

His apologies.

convicted of some crime. The apology had the desired effect, for we are told by Eusebius [1] that Antoninus Pius issued a decree forbidding Christians to be punished for their religion. He wrote his second apology about twenty years later, addressed to Marcus Aurelius and his Senate. He boldly declared that he expected martyrdom as the reward of this apology. Nor in this was he disappointed; he and other Christians were seized, and brought before the prefect of Rome, by whom they were condemned to be scourged and afterwards beheaded.

His other works.

Besides his apologies, St. Justin wrote many other works, which were chiefly of a polemical character. Thus he wrote the *Address to the Gentiles*, in which he demonstrates the unreasonableness of paganism, and explains the motives that induced him to desert it; the *Exhortation to the Greeks*, in which he points out the vanity of their philosophy, and shows that most of the truths contained in it were borrowed from the books of Moses; the *Dialogue with the Jew Tryphon*,[2] a record of a controversial dialogue held at Ephesus between himself and a Jewish philosopher named Tryphon; and the *Monarchy of God*, in which he proves the unity of God from the writings of heathen philosophers.[3] All these works have come down to us, with the exception of the last mentioned, a part of which only has been preserved.

Tatian.

Tatian was a native of Syria, and came to Rome about 162. Here he was converted to Christianity by Justin Martyr, and became one of the disciples of the latter. He

[1] *E. H.*, iv. 13.

[2] In this work Justin lays special emphasis on the dogma of Christ's Divinity.

[3] The Epistle to Diognetus is attributed by many to Justin.

was the author of many works; but the only one that has been preserved is his *Apology for the Christians*, addressed to Marcus Aurelius. After the martyrdom of Justin, he returned to the East, where he joined the Gnostics, and became the founder of one of their sects.

Athenagoras. Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, who was also a convert to Christianity, wrote an apology for the Christians, styled the *Legation to Marcus Aurelius*. and was the author of another work, *On the Resurrection of the Dead*. Both have come down to us; they are written in a true philosophical spirit, and in a clear and forcible style.

There were many other Apologists who wrote during the reign of Marcus Aurelius; among them we should not omit to mention Hermias, styled the Christian Lucian, because of the way in which he ridicules the doctrines of pagan philosophy in his work, *The Philosophers Rallied*.

A large number of Christian Apologists appeared during the reign of Septimius Severus, the most notable of whom were Tertullian, Clement of Alexandria, and Minutius Felix.

Tertullian. Tertullian was, without doubt, the ablest champion that had yet written in defence of the Church. He was born at Carthage about 160; his father was a centurion of proconsular rank. He was brought up in the pagan religion, and before his conversion, was a bitter opponent of Christianity. He tells[1] us that in his early years he freely indulged in the vices of his age; still he applied himself with great earnestness to the study of every branch of profane knowledge, and soon acquired a high character for eloquence and extensive learning. The method of argument which he pursued, as well as his intimate

His early life.

[1] *De Resur.*, c. 59.

knowledge of the Roman law, would appear to indicate that he followed the profession of an advocate. His conversion occurred about 185; he was shortly afterwards ordained priest, and resided mostly in his native city; on one occasion he paid a visit to Rome, where he appears to have remained for a considerable time. About middle life, having fallen a victim to his irascible temper, which he tells[1] us he never succeeded in controlling, he fell away from the Church, and joined the Montanists. His defection is ascribed by St. Jerome[2] to the harsh treatment which he received from the Roman clergy. Towards the end of his life he separated from the Montanists, and founded a new sect, called Tertullianists, which continued down to the time of St. Augustine, by whom they were reconciled to the Church. He lived to an advanced age, and died about 240.[3]

Becomes a Montanist.

Tertullian was a very prolific writer. Some of his works are of a purely religious character; most of them, however, are controversial. He is generally set down as the oldest theological writer among the Latins, and is the reputed father of the Latin Church terminology.[4] St. Vincent of Lerins, speaking of him, says[5]: "He was

Father of Latin Church terminology.

[1] *De Patientia*, c. 1. "Miserrimus ego semper aeger caloribus impatientiae."

[2] *De Viris Illust.*, c. 53. We must remember, however, that St. Jerome made a like charge against the Roman clergy in regard to himself. Others say that the occasion of his fall was a decree issued by Pope Zephyrinus admitting penitent adulterers to communion with the Church, which appeared to Tertullian to be a relaxation of ancient ecclesiastical discipline.

[3] The dates of the different events in Tertullian's life are not known with any degree of certainty.

[4] "Hitherto the language of the Western Churches, not only in the Greek colonies of Gaul, but at Rome itself, had been Greek—the general medium of communication, and the tongue in which the oracles of Christianity were written." Rob., *Hist. of Christ. Ch.*, i. 111.

[5] *Commonit.*, 17-18.

among the Latins what Origen was among the Greeks; that is, the first man of his age. Every word seems a sentence, and almost every sentence a new victory."

His Apologies.

As a learned Apologist, Tertullian holds the first rank. He lacked, however, the prudence that would win over the persecutors from their hostile attitude towards the Christians; for he generally addressed them in a tone full of scorn and defiance. His chief work as an Apologist is his *Apologeticum*, in which he triumphantly answers all the objections brought against the Christians, in their relations to the State. He wrote two other apologies, the one, *Ad Nationes*, addressed to the pagans generally, and the other an *Address to the Proconsul Scapula.*

His other works.

He is the author of several controversial works written against the heretics of the time, as well as of many treatises on questions in dogmatic and moral theology and Church discipline. Among these the following may be mentioned, viz., *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, *De Poenitentia*, *De Oratione*, *De Baptismo*, *De Resurrectione Carnis*, *Adversus Judaeos*, *De Patientia.* Many attempts have been made to distinguish the works written before he become a Montanist from those that were written afterwards. It is easy to show that some were written while he was yet a Catholic; thus, in his *De Praescriptione Haereticorum*, he insists strongly on the necessity of ecclesiastical communion with the Church of Rome; and in the *De Poenitentia* he teaches, that the Church has power to remit the sin of fornication, which he denied after he had become a Montanist. There are other works of his which were clearly written after his separation from the Church; while there are many that supply no data for

determining whether they were written by a Montanist or a Catholic.[1]

Clement of Alexandria.

Clement of Alexandria, to whom we shall refer more fully in connection with the Catechetical School of Alexandria, wrote the following apologetical works, viz., the *Protrepticus*, in which he appeals to the pagans to renounce their errors ; the *Paedagogus*, in which he gives an exposition of the Gospel ethics, and their influence on the lives of Christians ; and the *Stromata*, consisting of a collection of treatises written without much order—hence the name—to show the relation between Greek philosophy and the doctrines of Christian Revelation.

Minutius Felix.

Minutius Felix[2] was, according to some, an African by birth; according to others, an Italian. He followed the profession of the law, and pleaded at Rome, where he acquired a high reputation for learning and eloquence.

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[1] The following is the chronological classification of his works, given by Bishop Kaye, as quoted by Smith in his *Student's Eccl. Hist.*, 157 :—

I. Those written while he was a Catholic :—*De Poenitentia ; De Oratione ; De Baptismo ; Ad Uxorem ; Ad Martyres ; De Patientia ; Adversus Judaeos ; De Praescriptione Haereticorum.*

II. Those certainly written after he became a Montanist :—*Adversus Marcionem ; De Anima ; De Carne Christi ; De Resurrectione Carnis ; Adversus Praxean ; Scorpiace ; De Corona Militis ; De Virginibus Velandis ; De Exhortatione ; Castitatis ; De Fuga in Persecutione ; De Monogamia ; De Jejuniis ; De Pudicitia.*

III. Those probably belonging to the Montanistic period :—*Adversus Valentinianos ; Ad Scapulam ; De Spectaculis ; De Idololatria ; De Cultu Feminarum.*

IV. Those of which it is doubtful to which period they belong :—*Apologeticum ; Ad Nationes ; De Testimonio Animae ; De Pallio ; Adversus Hermogenem.* It is most probable that the *Apologeticum* was written while he was a Catholic.

[2] Some writers hold that Minutius Felix flourished and wrote his *Octavius* during the persecution under Marcus Aurelius. We follow St. Jerome (*De Viris Illust.*, c. 58), who places him after Tertullian.

He was brought up in the pagan religion, and did not become a Christian till an advanced age. His conversion was effected by his companion Octavius, who had been himself converted but a short time previously. There was a friend of theirs, named Caecilius, to whom they were very much attached; they determined, if possible, to effect his conversion. For some time their efforts appeared to be fruitless; but, at length, they had the gratification of seeing them crowned with success. One day the three friends happened to be walking through the town of Ostia, towards the sea-shore. Caecilius, on seeing a statue of Serapis, *adored* it, by putting *his hand to his mouth;* he was immediately censured by Octavius, whereupon the latter was challenged to a controversy on the relative merits of Christianity and paganism. The challenge being accepted, they seated themselves on a heap of stones, with Minutius Felix as judge. At the conclusion of the controversy, Caecilius acknowledged himself worsted. "I congratulate," he said, "both Octavius and myself exceedingly; we are both conquerors. Octavius triumphs over me, and I triumph over error. But the chief victory and the gain are mine, who by being conquered find the true faith." Minutius Felix has preserved for us an account of this controversy in his *Octavius,* one of the most interesting and valuable works in Christian apologetical literature. Caecilius, after his conversion, returned to Africa, his native country, where he became a priest, and was chiefly instrumental in bringing about the conversion of St. Cyprian.

Conversion of Caecilius.

Octavius.

Origen and St. Cyprian wrote in defence of Christianity about the time of the Decian persecution. Origen, an account of whose life we shall give, when treating of the

Origen

Catechetical School of Alexandria, is the author of the work, *Against Celsus*, in eight books, one of the most comprehensive and learned apologies ever written.

St. Cyprian.

Thascius Cyprian was born of wealthy pagan parents at Carthage, about the beginning of the third century. He was a man of profound and varied learning, and attained the highest fame as a teacher of rhetoric in his native city. His conversion, which was chiefly owing to Caecilius, occurred in the year 246. At his baptism he took the name Caecilius, in memory of his religious instructor; henceforth he shall be known as Thascius Caecilius Cyprian.

His conversion.

After his conversion he became a diligent student of the Sacred Scriptures, and of the early Christian writers, especially of Tertullian, whom he used to style the *Master*; and employed the immense store of knowledge which he possessed, in defending the Church against her infidel and heretical opponents. His apologetical works, written shortly after his becoming a Christian, are *De Vanitate Idolorum*, and *Testimonia adversus Judaeos*. In the former he describes the reasons that induced him to embrace Christianity; in the latter, he adduces a number of scriptural proofs of the Divinity of Christ.

His apologies.

Elected Bishop of Carthage.

He was so much respected for his piety and learning, that, on the death of Agrippinus, Bishop of Carthage, in 248, he was elected by the general acclamation of the clergy and people to fill the vacant see. His election was opposed by five priests, headed by Novatus, who continued to throw difficulties in his way during his episcopate. On the breaking out of the Decian persecution, St. Cyprian, acting, it is stated, under the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, withdrew to a retreat at some distance from Carthage, where he remained for fourteen months, and

thus escaped, for the present, the fury of the persecutors. From his place of retreat, however, he exercised a strict vigilance over his flock, and kept up a constant correspondence with them by letter.

Controversy about the *Lapsed.*

On his return to Carthage, in 251, he endeavoured to moderate the controversy then raging there about the reconciliation of the *Lapsed* with the Church. His opponents accused him of being too severe in his treatment of those who had offered sacrifice to idols during the Decian persecution, and aided by Felicissimus, a wealthy deacon, set up a rival bishop in the person of Fortunatus, one of the priests who had originally opposed his election to the see of Carthage. The Novatians, as the schismatics were called, soon made common cause with the Novatianists at Rome, though, as we shall afterwards see, they separated from the Church on different grounds. Against these schismatics St. Cyprian wrote his famous book, *De Unitate Ecclesiæ*, in which he shows that the unity which is essential to the Christian Church is based on the Primacy of St. Peter and his successors in the see of Rome, as its "principle" and "origin."

We reserve for another place[1] an account of the part taken by him in the *Re-Baptism* controversy. He continued to govern the see of Carthage till 257, when, during the persecution under Valerian, he was cited before the Proconsul of Africa, and banished to Curubis, about forty miles from Carthage. At the end of a year he was recalled from his place of banishment, but only to be condemned to death. He was beheaded before the walls of Carthage, on the 13th of September, 258.

His martyrdom.

[1] See Chapter on Baptism.

During the Diocletian persecution, many Apologists wrote in defence of the persecuted religion, among the most noteworthy being Arnobius and Lactantius. Arnobius was a native of Sicca, in Numidia, and became a distinguished teacher of rhetoric. He was for a long time a bitter opponent of Christianity, but was converted, owing to a vision of his miserable condition vouchsafed to him by God. "O blindness," he exclaimed, shortly after his conversion, "but a short time ago I was worshipping images just taken from a forge, and gods shaped upon the anvil and by the hammer." He wrote a refutation of paganism, about 304, in his work, *Adversus Nationes*, in seven books.

Arnobius.

Lactantius, styled by St. Jerome[1] "the most learned man of his age," was probably an Italian by birth; but received his education under Arnobius in Africa. Like his master, he was a convert to Christianity. In 317, he was appointed by Constantine, preceptor of his son Crispus. After the death of his royal pupil, in 326, he spent the remainder of his life in solitude and study at Treves. He was the most accurate and methodical of the early Christian Latin writers; and the purity and the ease with which he wrote Latin have earned for him the title of the "Christian Cicero." His greatest work is the *Institutiones Divinæ*, in seven books, addressed chiefly to the educated opponents of Christianity, and consisting of an elaborate refutation of the errors of paganism. But the work of his which is most frequently quoted is the *De Mortibus Persecutorum*, in which he gives a history of the persecutors of the Church, from the time of Nero down to his

Lactantius.

[1] *De Viris Illust.*, 80.

own, and dwells with special emphasis on the exemplary punishments with which they were visited by God.

When the persecutions ceased with the defeat of Licinius by Constantine the Great in 324, apologies became less frequent, as they were less necessary. Henceforth, the principal opponents of revealed truth will be found among Christians themselves; the controversies will not be carried on, as heretofore, between Christians on the one side and Jews and Gentiles on the other, but between those Christians who recognise, and those who reject, an infallible teaching authority in the Church.[1]

[1] In modern times, however, as during the early ages of the Church, the chief controversies are between those who admit, and those who reject, a Divine Revelation.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CATECHETICAL SCHOOL OF ALEXANDRIA.

Alexandria the seat of intellectual culture.

FOR about two centuries before the birth of Christ, and for the same period after it, Alexandria was the great seat of intellectual culture and home of Greek philosophy. Its geographical situation, together with the political and religious condition of the world, contributed to give it preëminence. It was the joining point between three continents, and became the battle-ground, where the religions of the East were brought face to face with the philosophical creeds of the West, and where both were represented by their ablest champions. It is obvious, that, if Christianity were to hold its own in the conflict, it should have defenders trained, not only in the knowledge of Revelation, but also in the mode of warfare of its opponents.

The necessity of a Catechetical School.

To supply such defenders was the purpose of the *Catechetical School* of Alexandria. Its foundation is ascribed by St. Jerome[1] to St. Mark. Others say that it was of later origin. But at whatever time it may have been founded, it did not attain a world-wide fame till Pantænus became its teacher.

Pantaenus.

Pantænus was a native of Sicily, and, before his conversion to Christianity, a Stoic philosopher. It is said that he was converted by one of the disciples of St. Mark. He

[1] *De Viris Illustr.*, c. 2.

became head of the *Catechetical School* about 180, and immediately set about introducing those changes that contributed largely to its future celebrity. The principal change was the union which he effected between theology and philosophy. Before his time, philosophy was very sparingly used in defending and illustrating the truths of Revelation. It was generally viewed with suspicion, and we are told by Clement,[1] the successor of Pantænus, that some went so far as to refer its origin to the evil one, because of the use that had been made of it in opposing Christianity. Pantænus and his successors took a different view of philosophy. They looked on it as a "Gift of God," a "Work of Divine Providence,"[2] which was intended to be for the Gentiles what the Law has been for the Jews, viz., the means of their justification and a preparation for the Gospel. In thus viewing philosophy, they did not understand any special system, but an eclectic philosophy, embodying the truths found in every system, freed from the errors by which they had been adulterated. They held, that between revealed religion and philosophy, thus understood and explained, there can be no antagonism; but that, on the contrary, the latter can be made subservient to the interests of the former in various ways: (*a*) by training the mind to think and reason accurately, and thus prepare it for the higher study of theology; (*b*) by supplying proofs and illustrations of many truths common to the two sciences; and (*c*) by unfolding and throwing into scientific shape the truths of Revelation.

Union between theology and philosophy.

This union between theology and philosophy was strongly opposed by the *Positivist Teachers* of the Western

[1] *Strom.*, vi. 8. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 1.

This union rejected by the Positivist Teachers.

Church, especially by Tertullian and St. Cyprian. The opinion of the former is expressed with sufficient clearness in the question which he used to ask, viz. :—"What is there in common between Athens and Jerusalem, between the Academy and the Church?" There was another point also in which the Latin Fathers differed from the Alexandrian teachers: while the latter devoted their attention chiefly to the study of speculative theology, the former paid most attention to the practical bearing of the truths of Revelation on human conduct.

The lectures of Pantænus were attended by large numbers of students, chiefly candidates for the priesthood and learned catechumens. His fame for learning and eloquence soon travelled to distant countries, and, among others, to India, from which an embassy was sent, praying him to

Preaches the Gospel in India

come and announce the Gospel in that country. He complied with the request, and having been consecrated bishop of the oriental nations by the Patriarch of Alexandria, he set out to preach the Gospel among these distant pagans. Having spent many years in instructing the Indians in the faith, he returned to Alexandria, where he continued to teach in private till his death, which occurred about 216.

Clement.

His successor in the school of Alexandria was Titus Flavius Clement, who was most probably an Athenian by birth, though some hold that he was a native of Alexandria. He was brought up in the pagan religion, and was an ardent student of philosophy. In the pursuit of knowledge he travelled through Italy, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. During his stay in the last-mentioned country, he attended the lectures of Pantænus, and became a convert to Christianity. After his conversion, he was appointed assistant catechist to Pantænus and was soon ordained priest. On

the departure of Pantænus for the East, in 192, Clement was appointed his successor. In delivering his lectures, which were attended by large numbers of pagans, he commenced with those truths that could be demonstrated from philosophy, for the purpose of leading his hearers by degrees to embrace the Christian faith. He did not, like his predecessor, confine himself to mere oral instruction; he wrote numerous works [1] for the benefit of those who could not attend his lectures. On the breaking out of the persecution under Septimius Severus, in 202, he fled to Palestine. After four years' absence, he returned to Alexandria, and remained there till his death (about 213).

Origen.

The most illustrious of Clement's pupils was Origen, by whom he was succeeded as head of the *Catechetical School.* He was born in the year 185 at Alexandria, where his father, Leonides, appears to have held some inferior office in the Church. He applied himself with diligence to master Greek literature and philosophy under the Neo-Platonist Ammonius Saccas, and studied theology under Pantænus and Clement. We are told that he made it a habit, as a student, to commit daily to memory a portion of the Sacred Scriptures; he thus laid the foundation of that extraordinary biblical knowledge which he afterwards manifested. During the persecution under Septimius Severus, his father suffered martyrdom; he himself was prevented from following the example of his father by his mother hiding his clothes. Being deprived of the opportunity of receiving the crown of martyrdom, he wrote to his father in prison encouraging him to persevere.

His early life

[1] His chief writings have been already referred to. See page 106.

Appointed head of the Catechetical School.

On the flight of Clement from Alexandria, in 202, Origen was appointed to take charge of the *Catechetical School.* As there was no salary attached to the office, or, rather, because he did not wish to take any money from his pupils, in accordance with the Gospel counsel, "Freely you have received, freely give,"[1] he sold a valuable collection of manuscripts, for which he received an allowance of four oboli[2] a-day. He lectured not only on theology and philosophy, but also on Sacred Scripture, and on nearly all branches of general knowledge.

He went to Rome in 211; and after a short stay in the imperial city, he returned to Alexandria at the request of his bishop, Demetrius. Some disturbances having occurred there in 215, he fled to Palestine, where he was kindly received by his former fellow-student, Alexander, Bishop of Jerusalem, and by Theoctistus, Bishop of Caesarea, both of whom invited him, though yet a layman, to expound the Sacred Scriptures in their Churches. When the Bishop of Alexandria heard of this, he immediately summoned Origen to return to his native city, and resume his duties in the *Catechetical School.* Origen obeyed the summons, and continued to teach in Alexandria till 228, when he was sent to Greece to combat certain heresies that were making headway in that country. On his way thither he passed through Palestine, and was ordained

[1] Matt. xxiii. Origen in his early life wished to carry out the counsels of our Lord in their minutest details and in their literal sense; hence he walked barefooted, had but one coat, abstained from flesh and wine. He spent the greater part of the night in study, and when he slept it was on the bare floor. He even mutilated himself, understanding in their literal sense our Lord's words: "Some have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake" (Matt. xix. 12).

[2] *2d.*

priest at Caesarea[1] by his friends Alexander and Theoctistus. His ordination was considered irregular for many reasons, but chiefly, because he had not obtained the permission of his bishop. The latter, feeling aggrieved that his episcopal rights were not respected, held two Councils at Alexandria, in 232, in which Origen was declared excommunicated and deposed from the office of the priesthood, and from his position as head of the *Catechetical School*.[2] The sentence of excommunication and deposition was not, however, received in the Churches of Palestine and Asia Minor, which still remained faithful to him. He was allowed by the bishops of these countries to preach the Gospel to the people, and, at their request, he appeared as the champion of orthodoxy against Beryllus at the Synod of Bosta (244). Ordained priest.

During the Decian persecution he was arrested for the faith, and cast into prison, where he was subjected to different kinds of torture in order to shake his constancy. He was released on the death of Decius, but did not survive his sufferings long; he died in the year 254, at Tyre, where his tomb was honoured for centuries, till its destruction by the Saracens during the Crusades. His sufferings and death.

Origen was a man of extraordinary firmness of purpose[3] and indefatigable industry. We are told by Eusebius[4] that His industry.

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[1] The most celebrated of those who attended his lectures in the East was Theodore, a native of Pontus, who was converted by Origen, and took the name of Gregory. He afterwards became Bishop of Neo-Caesarea, in which he found only seventeen Christians, and afterwards left only seventeen pagans. Hence he was styled Thaumaturgus.

[2] The Catechetical School was under the control of the Bishop of Alexandria.

[3] Hence called *Adamantinus*.

[4] *E. H.*, vi., 36.

he had a large number of copyists constantly employed in committing his lectures to writing, and multiplying copies of his works. He was supplied with the necessary expenses by a wealthy man named Ambrose, whom he converted from Gnosticism. The number of works ascribed to him is almost incredible. According to Epiphanius[1] and Rufinus[2] he wrote over six thousand, only a few of which have come down to us.

The *Hexapla.*

His greatest work was the *Hexapla,* on which he is said to have spent twenty-eight years. It contained in *six* parallel columns—hence the name—the following versions of the Old Testament—(1) the original Hebrew text; (2) the same in Greek characters; (3) the Septuagint; (4) the Greek version of Aquila; (5) the Greek version of Symmachus; and (6) the Greek version of Theodotion. In some parts there were added one, two, or even three other versions. Besides the different versions, it contained in the margin copious explanatory notes. When complete it filled between forty and fifty volumes. Origen undertook this great work to vindicate the Septuagint version against the Jews, who, since its general adoption by the Christians had begun to impugn its authority. The original manuscript was preserved in Caesarea, where it is said to have been destroyed by the Arabs when the city was taken by them in 653. It had never been transcribed as a whole; but separate copies of the various columns had been made.

Origen the father of biblical criticism.

It was Origen, who is generally looked on as the father of biblical criticism, that gave the *Catechetical School* of

[1] *Adversus Haer.*, xliv., 63
[2] *Contra Hieron.*, ii.

Alexandria the high character it enjoyed for biblical studies. He was the first to draw a clear distinction between the different senses which Sacred Scripture can have, viz., the *literal*, the *moral*, and the *mystical* or *allegorical*.[1] The first was looked on by Origen as subservient to the other two, and the *mystical* sense as the one primarily intended by the Holy Ghost. In this respect Origen and his successors differed from the teachers of the school of Antioch, who held that the *literal* was the principal sense of Sacred Scripture. The teachers of the two schools differed also about the extent of inspiration, those of Antioch defending merely a sententious, those of Alexandria a verbal inspiration.

Different senses of Sacred Scripture.

According to Origen,[2] every passage in Sacred Scripture has the *literal*, the *moral*, and the *mystical* senses. The *literal* sense could be understood by all, and was sufficient for the unlearned; the *moral* required higher intelligence; while the *mystical* was to be obtained only through the grace of the Holy Spirit, which was the fruit of prayer. The *mystical* interpretation of Scripture had been very much cultivated in Alexandria since the days of Philo; it had a special fascination for the divines of that school, as it gave them ample opportunity of indulging their taste for speculation. It had, however, a serious drawback; it afforded the sectaries an opportunity, of which they freely availed themselves, of accommodating the sense of Scripture to their own preconceived notions.

Errors attributed to Origen.

Origen has been charged with having fallen into various errors. (*a*) It has been alleged that he taught an inequality between the Father and the Son; hence he was

[1] See Dixon's *Introd. to S. Script.*, p. 191.

[2] *Contra Celsum*, vii., 12.

claimed by the Arians in favour of their heresy. (*b*) While admitting the creation of spirit and matter, he held that creation must have been eternal, as otherwise, God should not have had anything over which He could have exercised His power from eternity. (*c*) He held that the number of spirits originally created was final, and that the souls of men are but fallen spirits, condemned to bodies for the purpose of penance and purification: hence Christ's soul also existed before his body. (*d*) All punishment is primarily corrective, being ordained that creatures may attain their end; therefore, the torments of hell are not eternal. These errors are found in his work. *On Principles*, which he wrote in his earlier years. It is difficult to determine how far Origen held the erroneous opinions attributed to him; for as we are told by St. Athanasius,[1] the work, *On Principles*, in which they are mostly found, as well as other works of Origen, were very much interpolated by the early heretics, who wished to secure his name in favour of their opinions. The illustrious Bishop of Alexandria[2] undertook to defend him against the charge of Arianism, and showed that he taught merely an inequality of origin, and not of nature. The other errors are such as we should be prepared to find in the early writings of one who was an ardent student of Platonic philosophy. But in his maturer years, when he had studied the Christian religion more deeply, he retracted many of his previous opinions. "He himself, in a letter written to Fabian, Bishop of Rome, to whom probably his doctrine had been spoken of as heretical, explained that he

His work *On Principles.*

[1] *De Decr. Nic. Synodi*, i. 232.
[2] *Loco Citato.*

set forth many opinions in that book *On Principles*, which he no longer held, and that his friend Ambrose had published it against his will." [1]

The school continued to flourish till the end of the fourth century, when its glory rapidly disappeared, owing to the troubles of the Alexandrian Church. Its last great teacher was Didymus († 395), who, though blind from his infancy, attained the highest fame for his learning, both sacred and profane. His lectures were attended by such men as St. Jerome and Rufinus.

Other Catechetical Schools.

There were other *Catechetical Schools* throughout the Christian world besides those of Alexandria and Antioch. There were, for instance, such schools at Rome and Caesarea. They were originally intended, as indicated by the name, for the instruction of Catechumens; but their scope became enlarged with time; and they were attended by candidates for the priesthood, and by others who wished to get a profound knowledge of the doctrines of their faith.[2]

[1] Neander, vol. ii., 469.

[2] In the early ages of the Church the clergy were prepared for their office, not by a lengthened course of training in seminaries, such as we have at present, but by exercise in the ecclesiastical functions which they had afterwards to discharge. The general rule followed was that each bishop trained a sufficient number for the wants of his diocese; but it often happened that such training was dispensed with, as was the case with St. Ambrose and St. Hilary.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE HERESIES OF THE SECOND AND THIRD CENTURIES.

A.—*Gnosticism.*

Nature of Gnosticism.

GNOSTICISM was but a developed form of the Gentilizing heresies of the first century ; and derives its name from the "*Gnosis,*" or special knowledge of the mysteries of religion, to which the Gnostics laid claim. The term is applied to the teachings, not of any one sect, but a number of sects that made their appearance during the second century, all professing some doctrines in common, while each one had some peculiar tenets of its own. Taken in this collective sense, Gnosticism was an amalgamation of doctrines borrowed from religions the most opposed, and systems of philosophy the most irreconcilable. Thus, some of its doctrines were borrowed from Christian Revelation ; some, from Judaism ; others, from Buddhism ; others, from Parseeism ; others, in fine, from Greek, and especially Platonic, philosophy.

Its origin.

If we wish to seek for the origin of this philosophico-religious system we shall find it in the eclectic tendency of the age. This tendency was itself the result of the political and religious condition of mankind. Rome was mistress of most of the known world ; she had broken down the barriers which had so long separated one nation from another. A freer intercourse between the conquered nations, and a more intimate knowledge of one another's systems of religion and philosophy, were the necessary

results. Many conceived the idea of harmonizing these different systems, and embodying the least objectionable doctrines of each in a philosophic religion which would be more in keeping with the demands of reason, and which would be eventually embraced by the whole human race. The formation of such a world-wide religion was attempted by various sectaries, such as the followers of the Alexandrian School of the Philsophy of Religion, the Gentilizing Christians, the Neo-Platonists, and the Gnostics. But all their efforts were equally fruitless in bringing about the desired result.

Its chief doctrines.

The following were the chief doctrines of the Gnostics :— (*a*) They believed in an infinitely perfect Being, who lives in *pleroma*, or inaccessible light, and whose chief attributes are love, grace, and mercy. (*b*) They held the eternity of matter, which is the source of all evil. (*c*) According to their teaching, God who is infinitely good, could not come into immediate contact with matter, as being essentially evil. Hence, they had recourse to a number of intermediate agents or spirits, called *Aeons*, produced by emanation from the Divine Substance. One of these spirits was the Demiurge, who gave the world its present form. Opposite opinions were held by the two great schools of Gnosticism, viz., the Syrian and the Hellenic, regarding the relation between the Deity and the Demiurge. The Hellenic Gnostics looked on the Demiurge as the representative and organ of God ; He it was that ruled over the Jews, under the name of Jehovah, as other inferior Aeons presided over the destinies of the Gentile nations. The Syrian Gnostics, influenced by Persian Dualism, considered the Demiurge the opponent of God whose province it was to obstruct, by every means in his power, the execution of the Divine

Will. And, according to the *Pseudo-Clementine Homilies*[1] there existed a third school of Gnostics, called the Ebionitic, that identified the Demiurge with the Supreme Being Himself. (*d*) They admitted the Christian doctrine of Redemption, but only in name, for theirs was not a redemption by sacrifice, but a redemption by the fuller knowledge of the mysteries of religion, communicated to man by Christ, who was one of the superior *Æons*. Like their predecessors, the Gentilizing Christians, they differed very much among themselves about the nature of His body and its relation to the Logos. (*e*) According to their system of Anthropology, man consists of three parts, viz., the body, or material part; the sensitive soul, a subtle attenuated substance that perishes with the body; and the rational soul, which is an emanation of the Divine Substance, and is immortal. To these three constituent elements of

[1] These Homilies were written by a Gnostic about the middle of the second century, and were attributed to St. Clement, the last Pope of the first century, for the purpose of securing the authority of his name for the heterodox teaching contained in them. According to the Homilies, "Clement, an educated Roman of the Imperial family, not satisfied with heathenism, and thirsting for truth, goes to Judea, having heard that Jesus had appeared there. At Caesarea he meets with the Apostle Peter, and, being converted by him, accompanies him on his missionary journeys, and at the Apostle's request commits the substance of his discourses to writing. Chief among these are the disputations of Peter with Simon Magus, who is made the author of all anti-Jewish heresies, especially of the Marcionite Gnosticism. But it is conjectured that the real 'deceiver' whom the writer attacks under the mask of Simon, without venturing to utter his true name, is Paul himself. The doctrine which the pseudo-Clement puts into the mouth of Peter is a confused mixture of Ebionitic and Gnostic, ethical and metaphysical, ideas and fancies" (Smith, *Ch. Hist.*, 97-98). There were other forgeries during the early ages of the Church in the name of Clement, the chief of which was the *Recognitions*, in ten books, which, according to many, was written to correct the errors contained in the Homilies.

human nature corresponded three classes of men, viz., the *spiritual*, in whom all was life, worth, and light; the Gnostics claimed, as we should expect, that they formed this class; the *animal*, or such as led the life of the senses, yet preserved a ray of spiritual knowledge; and the *material*, who possessed no spiritual knowledge, but led a purely animal life. *(f)* In their moral code they went to the two extremes of strictness and laxity. The purpose of a moral code of laws, they said, was to enable men to secure a victory over matter. They differed among themselves as to how this victory was to be obtained. While some held that matter was to be overcome by the mortification of the passions, others maintained that it was to be overcome by their unrestrained indulgence. According as the Gnostics adopted one view or the other, their code of ethics was strict or lax.

Its moral code.

It would be an interminable task to describe the various sects that sprung up among the Gnostics, and their ever-varying systems of belief. Suffice it to say, that the founders of the chief schools among the Hellenic Gnostics were Basilides, Valentinus, Carpocrates, and Hermogenes; among the Syrian Gnostics, Saturninus, Bordesanes, Tatian, and Marcion; while the founder of the Ebionitic school is supposed to have been Pseudo-Clement, the author of the *Clementine Homilies*, whose name is unknown; they all flourished during the second century. The founders of the Syrian schools belonged to Syria, or the neighbouring countries; while the founders of the Hellenic Gnostics were Egyptians, either by birth or adoption. This will afford a sufficient explanation of the opposite views entertained by the two chief classes among them about the relation of the Demiurge to God. The

Founders of the chief Gnostic sects.

Syrian Gnostics, influenced by Persian Dualism, taught that there was an antagonism between them: the Hellenic Gnostics, on the other hand, who followed more closely the teachings of Platonic philosophy, rejected the idea of such antagonism.

Gnosticism began to wane about the middle of the third century, owing chiefly to divisions among the Gnostics[1] themselves, and their conflicting teachings. Some of them, however, continued down to the sixth century, for we find that Justinian passed severe laws against them. As we shall afterwards see, many of the Gnostic doctrines were revived and presented in a new garb by various sectaries during the Middle Ages.

B.—*Manichaeism.*

The author of Manichaeism.

Manichaeism made its appearance at a time when Gnosticism, to which it was closely allied, was beginning to lose the popularity it had so long enjoyed. The author of this system, from whom it also takes its name, was Mani, called by Europeans, Manes and Manichaeus. The precise place and date of his birth are not known with any degree of certainty. We only know that he flourished during the third century, while his religious system would appear to point to Persia as the country of his birth or adoption. About his personal history there are two traditions, the Eastern and the Western, which differ from each other in almost every particular. According to the former, he was a native of Persia, and the descendant of a noble Magian family. He received a good early

Eastern tradition regarding him.

[1] The errors of these sectaries were refuted by many of the early Christian writers, especially by Irenaeus, *Adv. Haer.*; Tertullian, *De Praescript. Haer.*; and Epiphanius, *Haer.*

education, and became a skilful painter and distinguished mathematician. Shortly after his conversion to Christianity he was ordained priest, and set about blending the teachings of Christianity and Parseeism, on account of which he became odious, both to the Christians, who excommunicated him, and the Magi, who persecuted him. It is said that Behiran, King of Persia, prevailed on Manes to defend his doctrines in a public disputation with the Magi. Being declared worsted in the dispute, he was flayed alive (277).

Western tradition.

According to the western tradition, he was a native of Babylonia, and of humble parentage. At the age of seven, he was bought as a slave by a widow, who gave him a good education, and at her death made him sole heir of her possessions. Among the books which he inherited was one written by Scythianus,[1] which contained the main outlines of the system which he afterwards filled in and taught. Soon after the death of his patroness, he emigrated to Persia, where he became acquainted with Christianity, and set about harmonizing the doctrines of Christianity, Parseeism, and Buddhism. At the age of sixty, he proclaimed himself the Paraclete promised by Christ, who had come to perfect the work of Redemption begun by the latter. He claimed the power of working miracles; but on failing to heal the king's son, who was suffering from a painful malady, he was put to death as an impostor.

Manichaean doctrines.

The Manichaeans taught the following doctrines:— (*a*) The doctrine of Dualism, or the existence of two eternal

[1] Scythianus was a Saracen merchant who in his distant journeys became acquainted with the Oriental and Greek philosophies. Doll., *E. H.*, i. 155.

principles essentially opposed to each other—the one the author of all good, the other the author of all evil. (*b*) The works of the two principles came into contact for the first time in Adam, when his soul, the emanation of the good principle, became imprisoned in the body, the work of the evil one. (*c*) The Logos, the highest emanation of the good principle, descended to earth, and took a human body, but only in appearance. His great mission was the redemption of the human race; but their redemption was the same as that of the Gnostics, consisting merely in the communication of spiritual knowledge. Christ's career, however, was cut short by the Jews, and the Paraclete came in the person of Manes to accomplish the work begun by Christ. (*d*) Man consists of two parts. the soul and body; the former the emanation of the good principle; the latter the work of the bad principle. To attain the region of eternal bliss or light, it is necessary that the human passions should be subdued; hence their strict code of morals; though, as we know from history, their practice was frequently at variance with their professions. The believers were divided into two classes, viz., the *elect*, and the *auditors*. The former were bound to lead austere lives, and to observe the law of the "*Three Seals*," *i.e.*, of the mouth, of the hands, and of the bosom. By this law they were bound to abstain—(1) from profane speech, flesh, fish, and all intoxicating drinks; (2) from hurting or destroying any animal, and from the possession of riches; and (3) from marriage and all sensual pleasures. The *auditors* were comparatively free to partake of the good things of the world; but were bound to provide for the sustenance of the *elect*. (*e*) They had a hierarchy, consisting of a chief, as successor of Manes; twelve apostles or masters; and

seventy-two bishops, together with priests, deacons, and "evangelists." Their worship was simple, and devoid of all solemnity; it consisted merely of the recital of prayers and the reading of some of the writings of Manes. They retained baptism in the initiation of the elect, but they used oil instead of water. They did away with all Christian feasts, and observed as the most solemn feast of their year the anniversary of the death of Manes.

Spread of Manichaeism.

The Manichaeans spread rapidly both in the East and in the West, as we learn from an edict issued against them by Diocletian, in 296, ordering their teachers to be persecuted, and their books to be burned. Severe laws were passed against them by some of Diocletian's successors, especially by Valentinian and Theodosius I. Notwithstanding these laws, Manichaeism continued to exist down to the sixth century, and its errors, like those of Gnosticism, were presented under a new garb by some of the medieval sectaries, particularly by the Paulicians, and their successors, the Albigenses.

§ C.—*The Anti-Trinitarian Heresies.*

Different ways of impugning the doctrine of the Trinity.

The Anti-Trinitarians, Gnostics, and Manichaeans, may be styled the rationalists of the first three centuries, because they completely subordinated Revelation to human reason. The first mentioned of these impugned the fundamental dogma of Christianity, viz., the doctrine of the Most Holy Trinity. This doctrine may be impugned, either—(*a*) by denying the Divinity of the Father, of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost; or (*b*) by denying a personal distinction between any two of them. In the former sense, the Arians and the Macedonians were Anti-Trinitarians; but it is only those who err in the latter sense that are

commonly designated by that name. They are divided into three classes, corresponding to the different ways in which they attacked the doctrine of the Trinity, viz., the Dynamical, the Modalist, and the Beryllist Anti-Trinitarians.

The Dynamical Anti-Trinitarians.

They admitted the Divinity of the Logos; but taught that it operated in the man Christ, not as a person, but as a power (δυναμις)—hence their name. Their most prominent representative was Paul of Samosata, who became Bishop of Antioch about 260. He was remarkable, as well for his eloquence, as for his boundless ambition and irregular life. Even after having become bishop he retained the title of Ducenarius[1] which he held from Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra. He taught that Christ was supernaturally born of a virgin, but that He was not God, as the Logos resided in Him as a quality, and not as a person. It is supposed that he formed his system with a view to please his patroness, who is said by St. Athanasius[2] to have been favourable to Judaism. A Council was held at Antioch, in 264, in which he was convicted of heresy and immorality. On his promising to change his mode of life, and to abstain from teaching any doctrine that could give offence, he was allowed to retain possession of his see. But, as he soon afterwards disgracefully violated his promise, another Council[3] was convened at Antioch, in 269, in which he was

Paul of Samosata.

[1] Chief tax collector, called Ducenarius because his salary was 200 sesterces, equivalent to about £1,600.

[2] *Hist. Arian ad Monachos.*, 71. Rob., i. c. 7.

[3] Tillemont (iv. 296) and Rob. (1. c. 7) hold that there were two Councils after the first, viz., one in 269, and the other in 270. We follow the opinion of Baronius (Ad an. 269, and Pagi (iii. 179). There is some controversy as to whether the word ὁμοουσίος was condemned by the Council of Antioch, in 269. According to the generally received opinion,

deposed, and Domnus appointed in his place. Paul refused to recognise the sentence, and continued for some time to maintain possession of the see through the influence of his friend Zenobia. After her defeat, however, by the Emperor Aurelian, in 272, he was forced to submit to the decision of the Council.

The Modalist Anti-Trinitarians.

While admitting the Divinity of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, the Modalist Anti-Trinitarians denied the existence of a personal distinction between them; and contended that they were but different manifestations of the same Person, who as Creator is called the Father, as Redeemer the Son, and, as applying the fruits of redemption to the souls of men, the Holy Ghost. They are sometimes called Patri-Passionists, because, according to their teaching, the Father became incarnate and suffered on the cross. The ablest exponent of this form of the heresy was Sabellius, a priest and native of the Libyan Pentapolis in Africa. Until about the middle of the present century, it was generally supposed that he flourished during the latter half of the third century. But if we are to accept the authority of the *Philosophumena*,[1] he taught

Patri-Passionists

based chiefly on the authority of St. Athanasius (*De Synodis*, 43-7), it was condemned, because of the use that was made of it by Paul of Samosata in support of his heresy. He understood by *οὐσια, person.* Hence when the Logos is said to be ὁμοουσίος with the Father, all personal distinction between them is excluded. See Newman, *Arians of the Fourth Century.* Palma (*Prael.*, i. 143) maintains that the word was not condemned).

[1] This work was discovered in a Greek Convent on Mount Athos, in 1840, by Mynoidas Mignas, who had been sent by the French minister of public instruction to collect the literary treasures that were supposed to be stored away in that district. Among the MSS. which were brought by him to Paris, was one, seemingly of the fourteenth century, labelled *Κατὰ πάσῶν αἱρεσέων.* It was allowed to remain unheeded in the National Library in

his heresy during the pontificate of Zepherinus (201-218), and was excommunicated by Pope Callistus (218-223).

Dionysius of Alexandria opposes Sabellius.

Dionysius, the illustrious Bishop of Alexandria, wrote three dogmatic epistles, in 260, in refutation of the Sabellian heresy. In order to bring out more prominently the personal distinction between the Father and the Son, he spoke of the latter as the Ποιήμα τοῦ θεοῦ. He was immediately accused of holding an inequality between the Persons of the Trinity, and of maintaining that the Son was a mere creature. He afterwards explained his meaning, and declared that the Son was *consubstantial* with the Father. Asia Minor appears to have been the birth-place of this heresy; for Praxeas and Epigonus, its first teachers in the West, came from that country. Praxeas came to

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Paris till 1851, when attention was called to it by Emmanuel Miller, one of the public officials, by whom it was offered to the directors of the University Press at Oxford. Here it was printed under the title of *Origenis Philosophumena*, as it was supposed to be one of Origen's long-lost works, a part of which was extant and bore the title of *Philosophumena*.

The work may be divided into two parts—the first consists of four books, setting forth the various systems of pagan philosophy; the second, of six books, containing a refutation of the different heresies that had appeared before the work was written. The second and third books, together with a part of the tenth, are lost.

The authorship of the *Philosophumena* has given rise to much controversy; nor is there yet any sign of agreement on the subject. It was attributed by its Oxford editor to Origen; others attributed it to Tertullian; others to Caius, a Roman priest; others to Novatian; while the majority of critics attributed it to Hippolytus, who was Bishop of Porto during the early part of the third century. The work supplies sufficient evidence to show that it was written by a contemporary of the Popes, Zepherinus and Callistus, who was a bishop belonging to a schismatical party, and had an intimate acquaintance with Rome.

The author, in the ninth book, when speaking of the more recent heresies, attacks the moral character and the dogmatic teaching of Zepherinus and Callistus, whose names are on the calendar of the saints. It is these attacks that have given the work its chief interest, from a controversial

Rome to oppose the Montanists, lest they should be admitted into ecclesiastical communion. But while defending the Church from one heresy, he fell into a more dangerous one himself. He and Epigonus set up a school in Rome, where they taught their Anti-Trinitarian heresy. Praxeas was excommunicated by Pope Callistus, and had to fly the Eternal City. His disciples, Epigonus and Cleomenes, continued to teach his errors there for some years after his departure.

The Beryllist Anti-Trinitarians.

Nature of the Beryllist heresy

The doctrine taught by Beryllus, Bishop of Bostra, in Arabia, was a kind of compromise between the teaching of the Dynamical and that of the Modalist Anti-Trinitarians. He taught that, before the Incarnation, the *Logos* had

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point of view. According to it, Zepherinus gave permission to the Anti-Trinitarians to teach their heresy in Rome; and Callistus took the side of Sabellius, in opposition to the Dynamical Anti-Trinitarians, though he afterwards excommunicated him.

Even admitting the truth of these charges, we deny that they supply any argument against Catholic faith: First, in regard to their moral conduct, they may have been guilty of various crimes during the greater portion of their lives, and still have died in peace with God. How many examples of this kind have we not in history? Secondly, it is not alleged that these Popes taught any heretical doctrine publicly, but simply that they favoured it privately, which we may admit consistently with our belief in Papal Infallibility. "It is clear," as a writer in the *Dublin Review* (Sept., 1842) puts it, "that he (the author) cavils not at the official enactments of the *Pontiff*, but at what he calls the corrupt administration of the *man*." And, thirdly, we deny the truth of the charges alleged against Zepherinus and Callistus in the *Philosophumena*. For all early writers whose works have come down to us reject them either explicitly or implicitly by their silence. With the exception of the *Philosophumena*, no authority can be cited against their character. Against such evidence is it reasonable to accept as conclusive the statement of an anonymous writer, who, as is evident from the work itself, belonged to an heretical or schismatical party? See Jungmann, *Diss.*, vol. i.; and *Dublin Review*, Sept., 1842, and Sept., 1843.

not a distinct personality, but that at the Incarnation the Divine Reason went forth from the Father, and was united as a distinct Person with the man Christ. As we have already mentioned, Origen appeared at the Synod of Bostra, in 244, to refute his errors. And so conclusive was Origen's refutation, that Beryllus publicly acknowledged his errors, and returned to the bosom of the Church.

§ D.—*Montanism.*

The Montanists resembled the Gnostics in their exclusive sectarianism; the members of each sect claiming to be a religious aristocracy in the Church. They differed, however, very much from each other about the source of spiritual knowledge, which, according to the Gnostics, was human reason, but, according to the Montanists, inspiration, or the direct illumination of the mind by God.

Montanus.

The Montanists derive their name from Montanus, their founder, who was a native of Mysia on the borders of Phrygia. He became a Christian between 140 and 150, and was most likely, before his conversion, a priest of Cybele, the favourite goddess of the Phrygians. The priests of this goddess used to get into fits of ecstasy, when delivering her oracles to the people. This will enable us to understand some of the religious eccentricities of Montanus after he became a Christian. He claimed to be inspired by the Holy Ghost, and to be His most powerful organ to men; he did not, however, claim the constant assistance of inspiration, but that he received it periodically, as circumstances required. He was followed by two rich and noble ladies, named Maximilla and Priscilla, who forsook their husbands and claimed the gift of prophecy.

Montanist errors.

The following are the chief points of the Montanist system :—(*a*) Montanus was in a special sense the prophet of God, sent to supplement the moral, but not the dogmatic, teaching of Christ. (*b*) Those who had been guilty of the more grievous sins of idolatry, homicide, adultery, &c., after baptism, could not receive absolution from the ministers of the Church, and were excluded from ecclesiastical communion. They might, indeed, receive pardon by appealing to the mercy of God; but such pardon was not sufficient to restore them to communion with the Church. Montanus, however, claimed for himself the power of remitting such sins. "But," said he, "I would never exercise it, lest others should thereby be encouraged to sin." (*c*) To the ordinary Lenten fast, prescribed by the Church, there were two periods of strict fast added, each of a fortnight's duration.[1] (*d*) Second marriages were forbidden. (*e*) Christians should not avoid death for the faith, but should use every means to secure the crown of martyrdom. (*f*) The end of the world was near, when the Millennium would commence in Pepuza and Tymium, two towns of Phrygia.

Origin and spread of Montanism.

It is not known, with any certainty, when Montanus, started his new system: Eusebius[2] gives 173 as the date. The austere lives led by the Montanists, together with the superior sanctity to which they laid claim, deceived many.

[1] The Montanists of a later period maintained that the Lenten fast was introduced by their founder, and that it was afterwards borrowed from them by the Church. Against their contention it is sufficient to quote the words of St. Jerome, who, in a letter to Marcella, says: "We observe but one Lenten fast throughout the year following *Apostolic tradition*. The Montanists have three Lenten fasts, as if three Redeemers had suffered."

[2] *Chron.*, viii. 630. An earlier date, viz., 126, is assigned by Epiphanius (*Haer.*, li. 33), though with much less probability.

The sect became widely spread both in Asia, Europe, and Africa. Tertullian was their most remarkable proselyte; and it is said, that even he deserted them towards the end of his life, and founded a sect of his own called the Tertullianists. [1]

The Montanists condemned by the Holy See.

The Montanists were condemned by Pope Eleutherius (177-192). It is said that Victor (192-201), his successor, influenced by false statements about their doctrines, was on the point [2] of admitting them into communion with the Church, when Praxeas arrived in Rome from the East, and informed the Pope of their true teachings, upon which the sentence of excommunication was renewed against them. The Montanists continued to exist as a distinct sect down to the sixth century.

§ E.—*Novatianism.*

Early Life of Novatian.

The author of this heresy was Novatian, a Roman priest. The place and time of his birth are not known. According to St. Cyprian, [3] he was a Stoic philosopher. He was converted to Christianity at an early age, but continued a catechumen till, falling dangerously ill, he received *clinical baptism.* [4] By the discipline of the early Church, those who received such baptism were declared irregular; not that the baptism was in itself defective, but because of the unworthy motives by which those who put off its reception till the end of their lives were generally actuated.

[1] Some writers hold that he remained a Montanist to the end, and that, in memory of him, many of the Montanists of North Africa took his name.

[2] According to Tertullian (*Adv., Prax.*, i.), Victor actually received the Montanists into communion; but afterwards, owing to the exertions of Praxeas, he excommunicated them.

[3] Ep. lv.

[4] *i.e.*, the baptism which is administered to a sick person in bed.

Notwithstanding this irregularity, he was ordained priest by Fabian (236-250), and attached to the Roman Church, because of his learning and eloquence. During the Decian persecution, he gave up the duties of his office, and shut himself up in a private house, to escape the rage of the persecution. When it ceased, he made himself remarkable by his rigid conduct in dealing with the Lapsed. He maintained that they should not be received into ecclesiastical communion, and that a Church that "communicated with such offenders forfeited its Christian character and privileges." [1] He gained a large number of adherents, among whom was Novatus of Carthage, who had come to Rome to promote the interests of his party there.

Election of Cornelius.

On the death of Fabian, in 250, there was an interregnum of sixteen months, owing to the persecution. When it ceased, Cornelius, a priest of the Roman Church, and a man of unblemished character, was chosen to fill the vacant see. Shortly after his appointment, he held a Synod in Rome to consider how the Lapsed should be dealt with. It was enacted that those of them who were truly penitent should be admitted to public penance, and that bishops and priests who had fallen away were to be similarly treated, but were to remain in the rank of laymen during their lives. Novatian, who was disappointed at not being elected Pope, made this legislation the occasion of opposing Cornelius, and creating a schismatical party in Rome. He was elected Pope by his followers, in opposition to Cornelius, and consecrated by three bishops, whom he had succeeded in gaining over to his party. Novatian thus became the first antipope. His followers were known as Novatianists;

The first antipope.

[1] Rob., Bk. i., c. 6.

they styled themselves *Cathari* (*Puritans*). One of their chief leaders was Novatus of Carthage, who had opposed St. Cyprian, because of his strict treatment of the Lapsed; but, after his arrival in Rome, the cause of common opposition to the Church, made him take the side of the Novatianists, who were opposed to Cornelius on a different ground.

Novatianists add heresy to schism.

The Novatianists were at first merely schismatics; but they soon added heresy to schism,[1] by denying the power of the Church to remit grave sins committed after baptism. Novatian himself taught that the sin of apostasy was the only one which the Church could not remit; but this doctrine was extended by his followers to all mortal sins.[2] Many of them also condemned second marriages. They re-baptized those proselytes that they gained over to their party from the Church. Novatianism bore a striking resemblance to Montanism. We can understand why there should be many points in common between the two systems, if, as stated by some, Novatian was a native of Phrygia.

The Novatianists were very numerous both in Italy

[1] Schism is a rupture of the governmental bond or external regimen of the Church; heresy is the denial of any doctrine of Catholic faith. The former is primarily an act of the will; the latter, of the intellect.

[2] Some writers appear to think that the Novatianists denied to the Church only the power of remitting the graver mortal sins. A writer of their sect named Sempronius, who flourished during the latter half of the fourth century, distinctly teaches that the Church has no power over any mortal sin. He based his teaching chiefly on the Epistle to the Hebrews, vi., 4-8. He was refuted by Pacian, Bishop of Barcelona (†380) in three letters, and by St. Epiphanius (†400). The case of St. Peter was quoted against Novatian as one who, after denying Christ, was restored to communion with the Church. To this Novatian replied by denying that St. Peter had ever received baptism. See Blunt's *Dict. of Heresies.*

and Africa. The Council of Nice made an effort to convert them by treating with special leniency those who returned to the Church. The heresy continued down to the sixth century; for we find Eulogius, Patriarch of Alexandria, who was contemporary with Gregory the Great, writing against it.[1]

Spread of Novatianism.

[1] Smith, *E. H.*, 168. Rob., *E. H.*, B. i., c. 6.

CHAPTER IX.

CHRISTIAN MONACHISM: ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

CHRISTIAN Monachism is a state of life in which persons aspire to Christian perfection by the practice of retirement, poverty, chastity, and other ascetical exercises. It received its fullest development in the institution of Religious Orders during the fourth century. Before, however, attaining this advanced stage, it passed through various phases, which we shall briefly describe.

Anchorites.

Anti-Catholic writers maintain, that Christian Monachism began with the Decian persecution (249-251), and that the first monks found in the Church were the hermits that were driven by the persecutors to take up their abode in the deserts of Egypt. According to them, Christian Monachism is not the result of an effort to carry out in practice the evangelical counsels, and to follow a mode of life that is praised in the Old Testament, and received from Christ such an unmistakable sanction in the eulogium passed by Him on St. John the Baptist. On the contrary, they hold, that it is opposed to the spirit of the Gospel; that its first stage was brought about by persecution; and that the following stages were the result of error and superstition. In holding this view, they either totally ignore the witness of history, or distort it, so as to make it subservient to their preconceived theories about the origin and growth of Monachism. Christian Monachism did not begin with the Decian persecution;

long before that time there were Christian monks, or such as led lives of retirement, in the practice of poverty, chastity, prayer, and other ascetical exercises. St. Athanasius, in his life of St. Anthony, says that before the time of St. Paul of Thebes [1] and of St. Anthony, there were no *hermits* in the Church; but that there were *monks* who lived in cells in rural districts close to towns. He also tells us, that, when St. Anthony, about the year 266, thought of embracing the life of a hermit, he went to consult an old man who had led the life of a monk from his early years (*ineunte aetate*). This would clearly require that he who was an old man in 266, and had embraced the state of Monachism at an early age, should have been a monk before 249, when the Decian persecution began. Cassian [2] traces the history of Christian Monachism in Egypt back to the middle of the first century of the Christian era; he states, that it was introduced into the Church of Alexandria by St. Mark, and that the plan of life introduced by him was followed by subsequent Egyptian monks. Many writers of the last century, accepting the authority of Eusebius, held that the Therapeutae were Christians and the founders of Christian Monachism. Had the Therapeutae been Christians, as stated by the Father of Ecclesiastical History, the honour might be fairly claimed for them of having introduced not merely the first stage of Christian Monachism, but, even in its more advanced stage, viz., Monasticism; for they lived a kind of community life, in the practice of poverty, chastity, and retirement from the world. It has, however, been conclusively established, that the Therapeutae were not Christians, but an ascetical

[1] St. Paul of Thebes became a hermit in 249.

[2] *De Inst. Coenob.*, Lib. ii., cap. 5.

sect that sprung up among the followers of the Jewish Philo of Alexandria. It is very probable that some of them were converted to Christianity, and exercised no inconsiderable influence on the forms in which Religious life afterwards manifested itself among the Christians of Egypt.

The monks or religious solitaries of the first two centuries are called *anchorites* by many writers, to distinguish them from the *hermits*—citizens of the desert—that made their appearance during the Decian persecution ; though by most writers the words were taken as synonymous. For the sake of clearness, we shall use them in different senses, understanding by *anchorite* a religious solitary who lives not far removed from the abodes of men ; while *hermit*, in accordance with the derivation of the word, will be taken to designate a religious solitary of the desert. At first, as we are told by St. Athanasius,[1] the *anchorites* lived in rudely constructed cells in fields near towns; but when churches began to be built, towards the close of the second century, they had their cells constructed either beside the church, or, as generally happened, in its very walls. The latter arrangement had this advantage, that the *inclusi*, as they are sometimes called, could hear Mass and receive the Sacraments without leaving their enclosure. This mode of life was interrupted by the Decian and following persecutions. When peace was restored to the Church by Constantine the Great, it was again introduced, and was adopted in many countries of Europe, especially in England, where it became so popular that it was made the subject of legislation. Thus, the Council of Lincoln (1323) ordered that the cells of *anchorites* should in future be constructed

Inclusi.

[1] *Life of St. Anthony.*

in the walls of the church, and that each cell should be provided with three apertures, viz., one into the church, one for light, and one through which food might be passed to the anchorites. It also prescribed the ceremonies and prayers that were to be used in enclosing the religious solitaries. The *inclusi* continued in England as late as the Reformation, when they disappeared with the other forms of Religious life.

A remarkable class of anchorites, called *Stylites* or *Pillar-Saints*, made their appearance in Syria, about the beginning of the fifth century. They pursued a manner of life strange in itself, and stranger still when judged by the standard of modern tastes and habits. To effect a more complete separation from earth, than that afforded by the cell in the church, they took up their abode on the tops of pillars—a fact, from which they derive their name—and here they lived often for many years, without descending to the earth. The height of the pillar did not always remain constant, but was often raised to indicate the progress in perfection supposed to have been made by the Stylite. Thus, *e.g.*, the pillar of St. Simeon Stylite[1] († 460), the first and best known of this class of solitaries, was raised four times during the thirty-two years that he spent in this mode of life.[2] Stylites.

[1] He had lived nine years in a hermit's cell before he took up his residence on the pillar, which was about forty miles from Antioch.

[2] The changes in height are thus described by Tennyson :

> "Then that I might be more alone with thee,
> Three years I lived upon a pillar, high
> Six cubits, and three years on one of twelve ;
> And twice three years I crouch'd on one that rose
> Twenty by measure ; last of all, I grew
> Twice ten long weary years to this,
> That numbers forty cubits from the soil."

The Stylites generally took up their abode near towns, that they might have an opportunity of preaching to the people who, on their way to and fro, flocked to see them, and were attended by disciples who supplied them with the necessary food. They were bound by chains to the pillars, and could never lie down to rest, as the diameter of the top was generally about two feet and a-half, and never exceeded a yard. Neither had they any protection against the inclemency of the weather, other than that afforded by the hair skins with which they were clothed. Their mode of life was, therefore, one of extreme hardship and suffering.

The Stylites were confined almost exclusively to the East; the only example known in the Western Church being that of a monk named Wulfilach, who, after having spent some time on a pillar near Treves, towards the end of the sixth century, was prevailed upon by the bishop of the diocese to retire to a monastery.[1] They were most common in Syria, where they continued as late as the thirteenth century. So much for the Anchorites, and that phase of anchoretic life pursued by the Stylites. We shall now pass to consider the next stage of Monachism.

Hermits.

We have mentioned, that the anchoretic mode of life was interrupted by the Decian and following persecutions; it would, perhaps, be more correct to say that the anchoretic stage of Monachism was transformed by these persecutions into the hermitical. The Decian persecution was the severest of the many that had yet been carried on against the Church; and nowhere were the imperial edicts executed with greater rigour than in Egypt. Christians, wherever

[1] Greg. Turon., viii. 15.

found, were put to death, churches were burned down, the anchoretic cells were destroyed, and their holy inmates had to flee into the deserts, to seek amidst nature's solitudes the peaceful rest denied to them by the cruelty of man. Their example was followed by thousands who sought to escape persecution, and, by embracing the life of the hermit, to imitate their great prototype, St. John the Baptist. Then did Egypt, "the mother of many wonders," see the most striking wonders, viz., her cities and towns deserted, her deserts and mountain wastes peopled by holy solitaries living the lives of angels rather than of men. St. Chrysostom,[1] speaking of this wonderful transformation brought about by the hermits in Egypt, says: "If anyone goes into the solitudes of Egypt, he will see the entire desert raised above Paradise itself; and innumerable angels appear before him in the bodies of men."

St. Paul of Thebes.

The two most remarkable and best known of the Egyptian hermits were St. Paul of Thebes († 340) and St. Anthony († 356). To the former the consent of ages has given the title of "*first hermit.*" We are told by St. Athanasius[2] that he retired, in 249, to the most secluded part of the Theban desert, where he took up his abode in a grotto, with a stone for his door, and not sufficiently large to contain two at the same time. His raiment was the skin of a wild beast, bound with a girdle of palm leaves, and his food was supplied each morning by a raven. In this mode of life he spent ninety years, and when he died the charitable work of burial was performed by a lion. The life of St. Paul may be said to be substantially the life of many. The accounts that have come down to us of these saintly

[1] *Hom. in St. Matth.*, cap. v.
[2] *Life of St. Anthony.*

denizens of the desert are so replete with the wonderful, that our first prompting is to think that they were endowed with powers other than human. Catholics and non-Catholics would do well to read some of their lives; the former, to see what men endowed with a lively faith are capable of doing for God and eternity; the latter, to find examples of devotion and self-sacrifice that will be sought for in vain outside the Catholic Church. "Who is so ignorant," says Montalembert, "or so unfortunate, as not to have devoured those tales of the heroic age of Monachism? Who has not contemplated, if not with the eyes of faith, at least with the admiration inspired by an incontrollable greatness of soul, the struggles of these athletes of patience. Everything is to be found there, variety and pathos, the sublime and simple epic of a race of men, *naïfs* as children and strong as giants."

Th Laurae.

The hermetical life, possessing as it did many advantages peculiar to itself suffered from one great drawback, viz., the want of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass and of the Sacraments, for the hermits were mostly laymen. To remedy this defect the monks living in the same district brought their cells together, and erected a common church where they might attend at Mass and receive the Sacraments. Such a collection of cells was called a *Laura*,[1] and formed a kind of transition stage between the purely hermetical and coenobitical modes of religious life. We are told by Evagrius[2] that the difference between the *Laura* and *Coenobium* or *Monastery* consisted in this: that "a *Laura*

[1] The *Laurae* were very popular in the East. We are told that the celebrated *Laura* of St. Sabas († 532), near Jerusalem, contained at one time over one thousand members.

[2] Let. 1, cap. xxi.

was many cells divided from one another, where each monk provided for himself; while the *Coenobium* was one habitation, where all the monks lived in society, and had all things common." Coenobites

That the *Laura* should soon give way to the *Monastery* is what we should expect. The transition, however, might have occupied a much longer time than it did, had not the great St. Anthony appeared to hasten it. After having spent forty years as a hermit in the practice of those austerities that have hallowed his name in the Church, he was persuaded to leave his retreat in the desert by the prayers of numerous hermits who wished to live under his spiritual direction. In the year 305, he founded, at Faium, not far from Memphis, an institute, the members of which lived in community and recognised St. Anthony as their superior. This is the first religious institute that can claim the title of *Monastery*. St. Anthony introduced an important element into the religious life, that was destined very soon to receive a further development. Before his time the monks lived in separate cells, bound together by no other bonds than a common mode of life, and that triple tie which unites all orthodox Christians. He brought them together, and formed them into a kind of family under the rule of a superior; and, in this way, he added a closer bond to those by which they had been already united, viz., a special governmental union. It is on account of this new element which he introduced into Monachism that St. Anthony has been recognised as the founder of *Monasticism.* St. Anthony.

Though St. Anthony was the founder of Monasticism, he cannot lay claim to the further title of founder of *Monastic Orders.* There were still important advances to Monastic Congregations

be made, before that further development of Monasticism could be reached. As yet there was no monastic rule, neither were vows required of those who embraced the religious state. The time, however, was not distant when those advances were to be made, and the men were already at hand that were to make them. St. Pachomius (292-348), an Egyptian monk and a disciple of a saintly hermit named Palaemon, founded a monastery, in 325,[1] on the island of Tabenna in the Nile, and drew up a rule for the guidance of his monks. At some distance from the monastery he founded a convent for nuns, of which his sister became the first abbess. His rule was soon adopted in other monasteries; and we are told by Palladius,[2] that before his death as many as seven thousand monks recognised him as superior, and observed his rule. He was therefore the founder of the first *Religious* or *Monastic Congregation.*

Spread of Monasticism.

Monasticism was introduced into the East by St. Hilarion (292-371), one of St. Anthony's disciples, who spent fifty years (306-356) in a desert, near Gaza,[3] in the practice of the most extreme austerities. Some Egyptian monks who accompanied St. Athanasius to Rome, in 340, are said to have been the first of the kind seen in the West. Their mode of life was soon embraced there by many holy souls who were anxious to consecrate themselves to God. The popularity which Monasticism enjoyed in Italy was very much due to the exertions of St. Ambrose, whose sister became a nun, and of St. Eusebius, Bishop of Vercelli. St. Martin of Tours was the great founder of French

[1] Tillemont (vii. 174): according to some writers (*v.g.* Alzog, *Ch. Hist.*, 529) it was not founded till 340.

[2] *Hist. Laus. Lat. Patr.*, lxxiii.

[3] A town in the south-west of Palestine.

Monasticism; we are told that two thousand monks followed his body to the grave (about A.D. 400). His rule was afterwards introduced into Ireland by his kinsman, St. Patrick.

Religious Orders.

The last stage in the development of Monachism was reserved for the great St. Basil (329-379). Shortly after becoming Bishop of Caesarea (370), he drew up a rule for the monks of his diocese: he required that all who embraced the Religious state should take the three vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience; he tells us that before his time such vows were not required. And, finally, he bestowed on his Religious institute the ecclesiastical approval[1] required to constitute it a Religious Order.

The Basilian Order, which soon spread throughout the East, was never popular in the West, as the extreme severity of the rule was not in keeping with the nature of the European climate and the character of the people. A more suitable rule was drawn up about a century and a-half later by St. Benedict of Nursia, who did for the West what St. Basil had already done for the East, and thus became the father of Western Monasticism in its more developed form.

St. Benedict of Nursia.

St. Benedict was born of respectable parents at Nursia, in Umbria, in the year 480. At a very early age he was sent to Rome to be educated; but soon growing dissatisfied with the dissolute conduct of the young men with whom he came in contact there, he withdrew to a mountainous district close to Subiaco, where he took up his abode in a cavern, afterwards called the Holy Grotto. Here he

[1] In the early ages of the Church bishops were empowered to give this approval.

practised the most extreme austerities, unknown to all except a monk named Romanus, whom he met on his way thither, and by whom he was supplied with food each day. At the end of three years he was requested by the monks of the neighbouring monastery of Vicovaro to become their superior. In compliance with their request, he left his solitude for his new charge. It was not long, however, till the monks, growing dissatisfied with his rule, endeavoured to get rid of him by poison; their wicked design failed, as the cup in which the poison was contained broke in pieces, on being blessed by St. Benedict.

Monasteries of Subiaco.

Finding that he could no longer remain with security at Vicovaro he withdrew to the Holy Grotto, where he had already spent so many happy days. His place of retirement was soon invaded by many who wished to have the benefit of his spiritual direction. To accommodate the ever-increasing number of his disciples he caused twelve monasteries to be built, each consisting of twelve monks and an abbot. Jealousy, however, soon began to manifest itself among some of the monks; and one of them, named Florentius, made an attempt on Benedict's life, which determined him to seek a new home.

Monte Cassino.

Accompanied by a few chosen companions he left Subiaco in 528, and travelled southward along the Apennines till he came to a temple dedicated to Apollo, on a height overlooking the town of Cassinum. Here he resolved to fix his residence; and having destroyed the pagan temple, he built two chapels, one of which he dedicated to St. John the Baptist, and the other to St. Martin of Tours. He[1] then laid the foundation of the

[1] He was in Holy Orders (Mabillon, *Annal. Bened.*, Ad an. 443), though not a priest (Muratori, *Script. Ital.*, iv. 217).

monastery of Monte Cassino, which was destined to play a prominent part in the history of Medieval Europe. Here he drew up his rule in 529, and passed to his reward in 543.

Rule of St. Benedict.

The Rule of St. Benedict has been always highly esteemed as a model of spiritual enlightenment and prudence, and is chiefly remarkable for its simplicity and its suitableness to the requirements of the Western Church. It is based on the two great principles of prayer and labour. The monks were to assemble seven times each day to chant the Divine Office in choir, to attend at Mass, and to devote a considerable portion of their time to meditation. Whatever time was not required for spiritual exercises and bodily rest was devoted, according to the tastes of individuals, to agriculture, the transcribing of MSS., or the instruction of the young. They were not allowed to take animal food, except in cases of delicacy, and fasted on one meal each day for half the year. Each monastery was governed by an abbot who was assisted by a prior, both being elected by the monks. Their habit consisted of a long black gown, with a cowl or hood of the same colour ; hence the Benedictines were sometimes styled Black Monks.

The Benedictine Rule gradually supplanted every other rule that had been in use in the West, till, during the reign of Charlemagne, it was the only one known throughout his vast dominions. The Benedictines are said to have had about this time as many as 37,000 houses in different parts of Europe.

CHAPTER X.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.

CONSTANTINE, on whom posterity has bestowed the title of Great, was the eldest son of Constantius Chlorus and St. Helena. Constantius was a lineal descendant of Claudius, Emperor of Rome (41-54). He embraced the profession of arms at an early age, and was appointed (293) by Diocletian ruler of the Roman provinces of Gaul and Britain, with the title of Cæsar. He was twice married, first to St. Helena, whom many English writers claim to be a countrywoman of their own; and afterwards to Theodora, the step-daughter of Maximianus, having been bound by the articles of agreement with the latter to divorce his first wife.

Constantius Chlorus.

Constantine was born, about 273, most probably in Moesia.[1] At an early age he became a soldier, and was sent (293) to the court of Diocletian as a hostage for his father. He attained marked distinction in the Egyptian campaign (296), and was afterwards kindly treated by Diocletian till the resignation of the latter, in 305. He was, however, treated so harshly by Galerius, the successor of Diocletian, that he fled from the East, and took refuge with his father

Constantine; his early life.

[1] Moesia comprised the modern Servia and Bulgaria. According to many English writers, who follow Geoffrey of Monmouth, he was born in England. The principal argument in favour of his English origin is taken from the words of his panegyrist, "Britannias illic oriendo nobiles fecisti." See Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, i. 237, and Ussher.

in England. Constantius died at York, in 306, and appointed Constantine his successor in the government of Gaul and Britain.

War with Maxentius.

A war broke out, in 312, between himself and Maxentius, the usurper [1] of the government of Italy. Its alleged cause was the murder of Maximianus, the father of Maxentius by Constantine. Maximianus and Maxentius, having quarrelled, the former fled to Constantine, who was married to his daughter Fausta. He was kindly received by his son-in-law; but this kindness was repaid by treachery. Maximianus not only endeavoured to undermine Constantine's authority with his soldiers, but even made an attempt on his life. Constantine, having discovered this double treachery on the part of his father-in-law, ordered him to be put to death. Being allowed to select the means of his execution, Maximianus strangled himself with his own hands, in 310. This was assigned by Maxentius as the cause of the war which he proclaimed against Constantine. The real cause, however, is generally supposed to have been his desire to conquer Gaul. Constantine resolved to anticipate the enemy; and, crossing the Alps, he defeated Maxentius in three decisive engagements.

Battle of the Milvian Bridge.

It was before the last of these engagements that the miraculous cross appeared in the heavens to Constantine. His army had been encamped outside Rome, close to the Milvian Bridge, awaiting the final struggle which was to decide the supremacy of the Western Empire. Looking in the direction of the sun, about noon, he saw a luminous cross, with the words, *τούτῳ νίκα*,[2] written over it. At

[1] Severus was the rightful ruler of Italy.

[2] "*In hoc signo vinces.*" According to Eusebius, the motto was in Greek; according to Nicephorus, it was in Latin.

the time he was a pagan, and did not fully understand the significance of the vision. Our Saviour appeared to him during the following night, holding in His hand the same symbol he had already witnessed in the heavens; and commanded him to use it as a standard in war, promising at the same time that it would be the pledge of victory. Constantine did as he was commanded. He had a standard constructed, known in history as the *Labarum*, which was destined to displace the Roman Eagle from the place of honour which it had occupied so long. It consisted of an upright lance, with a transverse beam at its upper extremity; from this beam hung a banner beautifully decorated with gold and other ornaments; the upright lance was surmounted by a crown, also beautifully ornamented with precious stones. The monogram of Christ, though sometimes fixed in gold to the top of the lance, was generally worked in the banner.[1] The account of the appearance of the miraculous cross, and of the subsequent vision of Christ, is given by Eusebius in his *Life of Constantine*.[2] Eusebius states, that he received the whole account from the Emperor, who confirmed it on oath; and that the miraculous cross in the heavens was seen by all the soldiers in Constantine's army; so that those writers are unreasonable who reject the story as a fiction.

The Labarum.

The Labarum was carried at the head of Constantine's army at the battle of the Milvian Bridge (312). In accordance with Christ's promise, victory attended his arms. The army of Maxentius was defeated; and himself

[1] Prudentius, *Contra Symach*, i.

[2] L. i., 27-32.

was drowned in crossing the Tiber after the battle. By this victory Constantine became undisputed master of the Western Empire.

Wars with Licinius.

In 314, war broke out between Constantine and Licinius, Emperor of the East. This war ended, like the last, in victory for Constantine. Licinius ceded to him Illyricum, Pannonia, and Greece, and married his sister Constantia. War was renewed between the two emperors in 323, and ended in the defeat and death of Licinius (324). Thus did Constantine become sole Emperor of the East and the West. In the same year in which he defeated Licinius, he chose Byzantium as his capital, and in 330, he solemnly inaugurated it as the seat of the imperial government under the name of Constantinople.

Constantine befriends Christianity.

Up to this we have confined our attention to the political career of Constantine; we shall now proceed to view him in his relations to the Church; for it is these relations that secure for him the prominent place assigned to him in Ecclesiastical History.

Constantine inherited from his parents[1] a favourable disposition towards Christianity. Even before the battle of the Milvian Bridge he treated the Christians with an indulgent kindness; but it was only after that event, when he himself embraced their religion, that he openly befriended them, and conferred on them the many privileges with which his name will always remain associated.

He did not make public profession of the Christian faith till after the defeat of Licinius, in 324; but that he was a Christian at heart and in belief, is clear from the favour

[1] It would appear from Eusebius (*Vita Constant.*, iii. 47) that St. Helena embraced the Christian faith after Constantine's conversion, and at his request.

shown by him towards the Christians. Thus, in 313, he issued an edict, in his own name and that of Licinius, not only granting them toleration, but also commanding that the churches that had been taken from them should be restored, and that all losses recently sustained by them should be made good at the expense of the State. In the course of the same year, he issued a second edict, exempting the Christian clergy from public taxes, and from burdensome municipal duties. In 316, he gave bishops the right to set slaves at liberty,[1] and to pass definitive sentences in those cases in which the litigating parties would appeal to them. He also forbade death by crucifixion, out of respect for the memory of the Saviour. In 319, he prohibited *private* sacrifices and divination; and in 321, he commanded the Sabbath observance of the Sunday.

He publicly proclaims himself a Christian.

After the defeat of Licinius, in 324, he openly professed Christianity, though he retained the title of Pontifex Maximus of the Roman religion, as did his successors down to the time of Gratian (375-383), because of the authority it conferred. They did not, however, discharge any of the religious duties attached to the office. He now became more liberal towards the Church, and bestowed on it various gifts of money, houses, and lands. He surrounded his person with Christian advisers, and showed a decided preference for ecclesiastics as his companions, both at table and in travelling. He bestowed on the bishops of Rome the Lateran Palace, which was afterwards converted into a church, and styled "The Mother and Head of all the Churches of the City and the World."[2] According to the

[1] This was to be done on Sunday, out of respect for that day.

[2] It was at first dedicated to the Saviour; but Lucius II., who rebuilt it towards the middle of the twelfth century, dedicated it to St. John the Baptist.

alleged Deed of Donation of Constantine, to which we shall refer more fully in connection with the origin of the Temporal Sovereignty of the Holy See, the Lateran Palace was given to Sylvester I., in the year 324.[1]

His religious character.

In 325, he issued a decree to all his subjects, expressing his desire that they should embrace the Christian religion. He proclaimed himself the guardian and defender of the Church, and claimed to be her *external bishop*.[2] He was exact in the discharge of his different religious duties; and we are told by Eusebius, that he was very regular in his attendance at the public functions of the Church; that he listened standing to the longest sermons; and that he had himself represented in an attitude of prayer on coins and medals.[3]

St. Helena and the finding of the True Cross.

He caused churches to be erected in many places in Palestine that had been associated with the different scenes of our Lord's life and passion. His pious mother, though then at an advanced age, undertook a journey to the Holy Land, to superintend the construction of these churches, and to find, if possible, the Cross on which the Saviour had suffered. She arrived in Jerusalem, in the year 326, and immediately set about erecting a church over the Holy Sepulchre. By her[4] directions the mound of earth and the statue of Venus, which Hadrian had raised over it more than two centuries before, were removed. Three crosses were discovered; but, as the

[1] According to Baronius (Ad. an. 312), the donation occurred immediately after the defeat of Maxentius; for a Synod was held there in 313, to consider the charges brought against Caecilian by the Donatists. But we can easily understand that the Synod might have been held in the Lateran Palace, though it had not yet been made over to the Popes.

[2] *Episcopus ad extra.*

[3] *Vita Const.*, iv. 15, 17, 22.

[4] Euseb., *Vita Const.*, iii., c. 26.

inscriptions had been removed, it appeared impossible to determine the True Cross. By the advice of Macarius, Bishop of Jerusalem, the three crosses were successively applied to a woman who was suffering from an incurable disease. When the True Cross touched her body, she was immediately healed.[1] The title, the nails, and a portion of the Cross, were sent by St. Helena to Constantine; the remaining portion of the Cross was enshrined in a rich silver case, and entrusted to the care of the Bishop of Jerusalem. After building many churches in Palestine she returned to Rome, where she died in the year 328.

Constantine's baptism.

Constantine did not receive baptism till towards the end of his life: he deferred it, he said, hoping to receive it in the waters of the Jordan. This privilege was, however, denied him, for he was taken suddenly ill at Nicomedia, in 337, and was baptised by Eusebius, bishop of that city. He died a few days after receiving baptism, clothed in the white robes of the Christian neophyte.

His criminal conduct

Constantine was guilty of some criminal acts which cast a dark shade over his otherwise fair character. Thus, he divorced Minervina, his first wife, to marry Fausta, the daughter of Maximianus: he had Licinius and his son put to death, though he had promised on oath[2] to spare their lives: he put his own son Crispus to death on the charge of having attempted to outrage his stepmother; and when he discovered that he had been deceived by Fausta, he had her suffocated in a heated bath.

Constantine divided the Empire between his three sons.

[1] The truth of this story is vouched for by Rufinus, i. 7, 8; Socrates, i. 17; Sozomen, ii. 15; Theodoret, i. 18. See Baronius, Ad an. 326; and Tillemont, *Mem. Eccles.*, viii. 8, 16.

[2] "*Contra jus sacramenti*," St. Jerome (*Chron.* Ad an. 328).

To the eldest, Constantine II., he gave Gaul, Spain, and Britain; to the youngest, Constans, the provinces of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa; and to Constantius, the provinces of the Eastern Empire. A war soon broke out between Constans and Constantine, which resulted in the defeat and death of the latter (340). Constans[1] was put to death by the usurper Magnentius, near Elne, at the foot of the Pyrenees (350). Constantius avenged the murder of his brother by the defeat of Magnentius, at the battle of Mursa. The latter, to escape the vengeance of an angry emperor, committed suicide; and thus Constantius became sole ruler of the whole Roman Empire (350-360).

Division of the empire.

[1] Gibbon, i., 403.

CHAPTER XI.

THE DONATIST HERESY.

Origin of Donatist schism.

THE Donatists take their name from two bishops of the name of Donatus, one of whom was Bishop of Casa Nigra in Numidia, and the other successor to Majorinus, the schismatical Bishop of Carthage. They openly separated from the Church in 311; but the seeds of the schism, then consummated, had been sown long before. The edict issued by Diocletian, in 303, ordering the Sacred Scriptures to be burned, gave rise to two parties in the Church of North Africa. The one maintained that Christians should use all lawful means that prudence could suggest to avoid martyrdom; the other, the fanatical party, held that Christians, instead of avoiding martyrdom, should seek it; and that for that purpose they should declare that they had the Sacred Scriptures in their houses, and still refuse to give them up to the persecutors. The recognised head of the former was Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage; the leader of the latter was Secundus, Bishop of Tigisis and Primate of Numidia.[1] The members of the extreme party, circulated the most infamous stories about Mensurius and his archdeacon Caecilian. They were soon joined in their opposition by Lucilla, a rich

[1] In Numidia the primacy does not appear to have been permanently attached to any see, but belonged to the senior bishop of the province. See Rob. i., 269, note.

widow of Carthage, who possessed much influence on account of her wealth. It is said,[1] that the chief reason why she adopted this course was to revenge herself on Caecilian, who rebuked her for certain superstitious observances, of which she had been guilty.

Mensurius died in 311 : the appointment of a successor gave rise to an open rupture between the two parties. Botrus and Celesius, two priests of Carthage, who are said to have aspired to the vacant see themselves, had the election brought on before the arrival of the Numidian bishops. They were, however, disappointed; for the choice of the clergy and laity fell on Caecilian, who was immediately consecrated by Felix, Bishop of the neighbouring see of Aptunga. Schism consummated

When the bishops[2] of Numidia shortly afterwards arrived, they refused to recognise Caecilian as bishop; first, because he had been elected and consecrated before their arrival; and, secondly, because the bishop by whom he was consecrated was a *traditor*. To these objections the party of Caecilian replied—first, that, though it was usual to wait for the Numidian bishops before proceeding to the election of a bishop of Carthage, still their presence was not necessary for a valid election, as it was not prescribed by any ecclesiastical law; and that the bishop of Carthage was more frequently consecrated by a neighbouring bishop than by the primate of Numidia; and, secondly, that the consecrating bishop was not a *traditor;* but, that, if it could be shown that he was such, they would consent[3]

[1] Optatus, i. 17, 18. (*Patrol.* Dupin, vol. viii.)

[2] The number of Numidian bishops who came to Carthage was seventy.

[3] St. Augustine says (*Brevic. Coll.*, iii. 16) that this offer was probably not serious.

to have the ceremony of consecration repeated. From this it is clear that the doctrinal error [1] underlying the practice of re-baptism, viz., that the efficacy of the sacraments depended on the personal merits of the minister, was still prevalent in the African Church. In the time of St. Cyprian, it was held that heresy in the minister invalidated his sacramental acts; now, it was further held that excommunication incurred by delivering up the Sacred Books to be burned had the same effect; and the Donatists of a later period extended the doctrine to any mortal sin in the minister.

Majorinus.

The answer given by Caecilian's party failed to satisfy the Donatists, who were now led by Donatus, Bishop of Casa Nigra; for they were determined not to accept any answer that would imply the continuance of Caecilian in the see of Carthage. They, therefore, proceeded to the appointment of a rival bishop, and elected Majorinus, a lector belonging to the household of Lucilla. Their next step was to excommunicate Caecilian; and thus was the rupture between the two parties consummated. The Donatists were at first merely schismatics; but they shortly afterwards, like the Novatianists, added heresy to schism.

Spread of the schism.

Each party endeavoured to secure for itself the recognition of the other African Churches. And in this way the schism, which was at first confined to Carthage, soon spread over the whole of North Africa.

Charges against Caecilian investigated. (*a*) At Rome.

The Donatists appealed, in 313, to Constantine, to appoint judges to inquire into the charges against Caecilian. The Emperor appointed Pope Melchiades and five other bishops from Gaul, to conduct the inquiry. The number of judges was afterwards increased by the addition of fifteen

[1] See page 178.

Italian bishops. The investigation was conducted in the Lateran Palace; Caecilian attended with ten bishops of his party; and Donatus of Casa Nigra appeared as his chief accuser. Caecilian was declared innocent of the charges alleged against him; while Donatus was judged guilty of various violations of ecclesiastical law.

(b) In Africa. This did not satisfy the Donatists. They applied to the Emperor for a new inquiry, as they said that justice had not been done in the last. Their request was granted. The Proconsul of Numidia was appointed to conduct the inquiry, which ended, as the last, in the declaration of Caecilian's innocence.

(c) At Arles. The charges against Caecilian and Felix were inquired into, for the third time, at the Council of Arles (314). The decision of the assembled fathers was again favourable to Caecilian; they declared[1] that orders conferred by *traditor* bishops were valid, provided that there was nothing to interfere with their validity, except the sinfulness of the ministers.

(d) At Milan. The schismatics were still dissatisfied, and appealed from the decision of the Synod to the Emperor, thus setting the first example of an appeal from an ecclesiastical to a lay tribunal. Constantine heard the delegates of the two parties, at Milan (316); at the end of the inquiry, he declared Caecilian innocent, and condemned the conduct of the Donatists. Before this decision became known in Africa, Majorinus had died, and had been succeeded by Donatus, styled the Great, who, from this time till his death (349), was the leader and soul of the schismatical party in Africa.

Constantine, finding that ecclesiastical legislation and

[1] C. 13.

The Donatists persecuted.

appeals to the religious feelings of the Donatists, were of no avail, resolved to have recourse to more stringent measures. Various edicts were issued against them; they were condemned to exile, and their churches and other ecclesiastical property were confiscated. Ursacius, a count of the empire, was commissioned to enforce the laws against them, and the commission was executed with great severity. Constans, who succeeded his father (337) in the government of Italy, endeavoured to win over the Donatists to the Church by kind treatment; but his kindness was met by a revolt among the extreme section of the Donatists, called the Circumcellions,[1] in 347. After this time they were treated with much severity, till Julian the Apostate became Emperor. He allowed the exiled Donatists to return to their homes, for the purpose of increasing the divisions among the Christians. They became so aggressive that the Catholics again requested the intervention of the State, during the reign of Honorius (395-423), to protect them against the violence of their opponents.

Conference at Carthage (411).

After various attempts had been made in vain to bring the Donatists back to the Church, it was finally arranged to hold a conference between the representatives of the two parties. The proposed conference was held at Carthage in the year 411. There were present two hundred and eighty-six Catholic and two hundred and seventy-nine Donatist bishops. Seven speakers were elected from each side to represent their respective views. The conference was presided over by the tribune Marcellinus. He

[1] They belonged to the poorer classes, and derived their name from the practice of *begging round* the *cells* or cottages of the country people. The first appearance of the Circumcellions among the Donatists is placed by some writers as early as 317, when the first imperial edicts were issued against them. Rob., i. 277.

discharged his difficult mission so successfully, as to elicit the praise of two such men as St. Jerome and St. Augustine.[1] The Catholic bishops declared their readiness to resign their sees to the Donatists, if they were worsted in the controversy; and to receive the Donatist bishops to equal rights with themselves, if the Donatists were convicted of error, and returned to the Catholic Church.

Points in dispute between the Catholics and Donatists.

The various points in dispute between the Catholics and Donatists, both historical and doctrinal, were discussed. (*a*) The Donatists maintained, while the Catholics denied, that Felix, the Bishop who consecrated Caecilian, was a *traditor*. (*b*) The Church, according to the latter, was a visible society; according to the former, an invisible one, consisting of the just alone. (*c*) The Donatists held that the sacraments administered by priests in the state of mortal sin were invalid. This doctrine was rejected by the Catholics. (*d*) The former denied the lawfulness of using physical force in suppressing error; and appealed, in support of their view, to the example of our Lord and His Apostles. "Did the Apostles ever persecute anyone?" asked Petilian, the chief exponent of the Donatist teaching; "or did Christ ever deliver anyone over to the secular arm?" To which St. Augustine replied by asking: "Ought murder, adultery, and all other crimes be punished, and sacrilege and heresy alone be allowed to go unpunished?"[2]

At the end of the conference, which lasted three days,

[1] St. Augustine dedicated to him the *City of God*.

[2] Gaudentius, *Don.*, i. 20. St. Augustine was at first opposed to the use of physical force against heretics; but changed his opinion about 408, when he saw the good results of penal laws passed against the Donatists. He was always opposed to the infliction of capital punishment for heresy.

Marcellinus decided in favour of the Catholics. Against this decision the Donatists appealed to the Emperor; but he sustained the action of his representative, and ordered all the old laws against them to be enforced. Many of the Donatists returned to the Church: those who obstinately adhered to their errors were subjected to various kinds of punishment. When the Vandals invaded Africa in 430, they persecuted the Catholics and Donatists alike. The Donatist heresy, however, continued in North Africa till the arrival of the Saracens, in the seventh century, when it disappeared with the general downfall of Christianity in that country.

Champions of Catholic orthodoxy.

The principal controversial opponent of the Donatist heresy, during the early period of its history, was Optatus, Bishop of Mileve († 380). In his work, *De Schismate Donatistarum*, he traces the history of the heresy, and refutes the arguments by which it was supported. He disappeared from the scene, to be followed by one who was destined to prove himself not merely the ablest opponent that had yet appeared of the Donatist and contemporary heresies, but one of the most remarkable men of all time. This was the great St. Augustine.

Optatus of Mileve.

St Augustine.

He was born in the year 354, at Tagaste, a town in Numidia, not far from Hippo, of which he afterwards became bishop. His father Patricius was a pagan, but was converted to the Christian faith, shortly before his death (371) by his pious wife St. Monica. St. Augustine received a good Christian education from his mother, whose holy example, he tells us,[1] made an indelible impression on his youthful mind. After attending an elementary school

His early life.

[1] *Conf.*

in his native town for some time, he fell dangerously ill, and was on the point of receiving the sacrament of baptism when he suddenly recovered. He then deferred its reception, lest he should afterwards violate his baptismal vows, and stain his soul by the commission of mortal sin. He was then sent to the neighbouring town of Madaura to study grammar, poetry, and rhetoric. While here he became acquainted with wicked companions, by whom he was led to indulge in the vice of impurity. He went to Carthage, in 370, to complete his education, and applied himself to his studies with great eagerness and perseverance; but at the same time he gave free reins to the indulgence of his passions, and finally joined the Manichaeans. In 374, he returned to Tagaste, where he set up a school of grammar and rhetoric, and continued his irregular and sinful mode of life. His spiritual condition caused much pain to his pious mother; she was constantly praying for his conversion, and refused to sit at the same table with him, thinking that he would be thereby induced to effect a change in his life. The time, however, had not yet arrived for his conversion. He soon afterwards removed to Carthage, where he taught rhetoric with great success.

Becomes a Manichaean.

In 383, he had been a Manichaean for nine years, and had not yet found the spiritual enlightenment promised to him on joining that sect. He began to suspect that he had been deceived; and his suspicions were increased by an interview he had with Faustus, a Manichaean bishop, who was held in high repute for his learning. Faustus failed to remove his doubts; so he determined to abandon a sect that had proved itself unable to satisfy the religious aspirations of his soul. He finally severed all connection

Deserts Manichaeism.

with it in the twenty-ninth year of his age. But while deserting Manichaeism he did not immediately embrace the Catholic faith; he had many spiritual struggles still to encounter, before he was "to find rest in Christ."

At Rome and Milan.

Being dissatisfied with the disorderly conduct of the students at Carthage, he went to Rome, where he set up a school of rhetoric. His lectures here were attended by crowds of students, and by some of the most remarkable men of the time. The Emperor Valentinian II. (375-392) who resided at Milan, was anxious to secure for the school of that city the ablest teacher of rhetoric that could be had. He wrote to the Prefect of Rome on the matter; the latter recommended Augustine for the post of honour. On his arrival in Milan he found that his fame had preceded him thither, as he was received with every mark of distinction. He soon became acquainted with St. Ambrose, the eloquent Bishop of Milan, and frequently attended his sermons, more from curiosity than from any spiritual motive. They soon, however, began to make an impression on his mind.

His conversion.

Yielding at length to the force of argument and the action of grace, he embraced the Christian faith, to the great happiness of St. Monica, who had followed him, first to Rome, and afterwards to Milan, praying the whole time for his conversion.

After his conversion, he lived in retirement for some time at Milan. Here he wrote his works *Against the Academics*, in three books; *Soliloquies;* and *On the Immortality of the Human Soul.* He was baptised, together with his natural son, Adeodatus, by St. Ambrose, on Holy Saturday, 387. Soon after his baptism he returned to Africa, his mother accompanying him as far as Ostia, where she died. He bestowed on the Church of Tagaste his

Returns to Africa.

paternal estates, reserving for himself and his son merely the right to maintenance. He lived for three years in community, with a number of devout friends, spending his time in fasting, prayer, and other spiritual exercises. In 391 he was ordained priest[1] by Valerius, Bishop of Hippo; and in 395 he was consecrated bishop and made colleague of Valerius. On the death of the latter, St. Augustine succeeded to the vacant see which he continued to govern till his death (430).

Appointed Bishop of Hippo.

Notwithstanding his numerous labours, both as a priest and as a bishop, he wrote many valuable works. His writings cover the whole range of Christian theology, dogmatic, moral, and ascetic; he also commented, either orally, or in writing, on most of the Old and New Testaments. The best known of his works are his *Confessions* and the *City of God*. In the former, he gives a plain and touching description of his sinful life, the struggles between grace and passion in his soul, and the successive stages in his conversion. His *City of God* is the greatest of his works; and we may say of it with truth, that it is one of the most remarkable and enduring creations of human genius. On this work, which is an elaborate apology for Christianity, he spent thirteen years (413-426). It consists of twenty-two books. In the first ten he answers all the old objections brought against Christianity, because of the calamities that befel the Roman Empire. These objections had been

His *Confessions.*

The *City of God.*

[1] Valerius, who was a Greek by birth, felt a difficulty in preaching in Latin, and asked St. Augustine to take his place. This is the first case that we find in the Western Church of a priest preaching in the presence of a bishop during the celebration of Mass. The practice was first objected to as a novelty; but it was soon introduced into the other Churches of Africa and Europe.

recently urged with special force, owing to the taking of Rome by the Goths (410). In the remaining twelve books, he contrasts the history of the *two Cities*, viz., the *earthly* and the *heavenly* or the *City of God*, in their origin, course, and end. In his *Retractations*, written about 428, he reviews his former opinions, aud modifies or corrects them in so far as his maturer judgment deemed necessary.

CHAPTER XII.

BAPTISM.

THE Sacrament of Baptism derives its name from the ceremony of ablution by which it is administered. It can be administered in three ways, viz., by *immersion*, by *affusion* or *infusion*, and by *aspersion*. The last two may be looked on, for our purpose, as the same. In the early ages of the Church, baptism by immersion was the most common, and a triple immersion was employed to express the Christian belief in the Trinity.[1] But baptism was also administered by *affusion* to those who were sick; such baptism being known as *Clinical Baptism*. Baptism was generally administered by immersion down to the fourteenth century. St. Thomas Aquinas, writing towards the end of the thirteenth century, speaks [2] of this kind of baptism as "the more common." It is still generally administered by immersion in the Greek Church.

Different ways of administering Baptism.

Infants were baptised from the very earliest times. We read in the Acts of the Apostles [3] that whole families received baptism: it is but reasonable to infer that there were among them children who had not yet attained the age of discretion. Origen speaks [4] of infant baptism as of

Pedobaptism.

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[1] The Council of Toledo (633) ordered baptism to be administered by single immersion as a protest against the Arians, who used a triple immersion to signify a triple Substance or Essence in the Trinity.

[2] *Summa, Pars Tertia, Quaest.* 66, § 7.

[3] xvi., 15, 33.

[4] In Rom., v. 9.

Apostolic origin. Tertullian[1] objected to the practice, except in the case of danger of death, and thus bears witness to its prevalence. The Council of Carthage, held in 252,[2] ordered baptism to be administered within eight days after birth; in some countries, however, it was customary to defer baptism till the following Easter.

In the Apostolic and early ages of the Church, the majority of those who received baptism were adults, who had been converted to the faith. At first, they were admitted to baptism immediately after their conversion, as the sight of the miracles that were of such frequent occurrence aroused in them the spirit of faith and Divine love, and thus did away with the necessity of any lengthened period of probation. When, however, miracles became less frequent, experience soon taught the Church the necessity of requiring converts to go through a period of probation before admitting them to baptism. The period of probation was called the *Catechumenate.*

Catechumenate.

Three classes of Catechumens.

The *Catechumens* were divided into three classes, viz., the *Hearers*, the *Kneelers*, and the *Petitioners*. The *Hearers* —a name sometimes applied to all the Catechumens— were those who were being instructed in the rudiments of the Christian faith; they were admitted to the first part of the Mass of the catechumens, ending with the bishop's sermon after the Gospel, after which they retired. The *Kneelers* remained during the prayers recited, after the bishop's sermon, for the catechumens and energumens, but in a kneeling posture. They withdrew before the offertory. The *Petitioners* were those who had applied to be admitted to baptism at the next festival of Easter or

[1] *De Baptismo*, 18.

[2] Harduin, *Coll. Conc.*, i. 147.

Pentecost, and whose prayers had been acceded to; hence they are often called the *Elect.* According to the Synod of Elvira, the length of the catechumenate was two years; the *Apostolical Constitutions*[1] required three. If, however, there was any danger of death, the catechumen was immediately baptized. By degrees, the period of probation was abridged; the Council of Agde (506) required only eight months for converted Jews.

During the ages of persecution there was no special place set apart for the administration of baptism; it might be administered wherever there was a sufficient supply of water. When the persecution ceased, it was conferred in baptisteries, which were circular structures built near the churches, though not in immediate contact with them. They were sometimes so large that councils were held in them; they had altars, where Mass was celebrated for the newly baptized, and at which they received Holy Communion. There was generally but one baptistery in each diocese, which was built in connection with the cathedral. Baptisteries.

[1] viii. 32. "The *Apostolic Constitutions* are eight books of moral exhortations, Church laws and usages, and liturgical formularies, collected probably from the teaching and customs of the early Churches, which the compiler pretends to have been taught or dictated by the Apostles to the Roman Bishop Clement. The first six books, which form the basis of the work, compiled probably in Syria during the second century, have a strongly Jewish-Christian tone. The seventh and eight books are a distinct work, belonging to the beginning of the fourth century, before the Council of Nice. The design of the whole collection was to set forth rules of ecclesiastical life for the clergy and laity, and to maintain the power of the episcopal order. The work formed the prevalent standard of discipline in the East, till it was rejected for its heretical interpolations by the Trullan Council, in 692." Smith, *E. H.*, 99. Eusebius (*E. H.*, iii. 25) speaks of the *Constitutions* as spurious, though often read as Canonical Scripture: and Athanasius (*Ep. Fest.*) gives the same testimony. See Blunt, *Dict. of Hist. and Doct. Theol.*, art. "Constitutions."

The *Apostolic Canons* are brief rules of ecclesiastical discipline intended

Days for administering baptism.

Baptism might be administered on any day, but Sunday was preferred. For its solemn administration, at which the bishop officiated, certain festivals were set apart. These were Easter and Pentecost; to which Epiphany was added in the Eastern Church. Solemn baptism was administered on the eve of the festival, and the neophytes wore white for eight days.

The minister of baptism.

The ordinary minister of baptism was the bishop; priests and deacons were allowed to administer it solemnly only with his permission.[1] Laymen[2] were allowed to administer baptism in case of necessity. The question of the validity of baptism conferred by heretics or schismatics gave rise to a heated controversy during the third century, known as the *Re-Baptism Controversy*.

The *Re-Baptism Controversy.*

We are told by Eusebius,[3] that according to the usage of the Church, *handed down from the time of the Apostles*, the baptism of heretics was regarded as valid: and that those

almost entirely for the clergy. "They first obtained their names, not as having been drawn up by the Apostles, but as declaring the discipline of the Apostolic Church" (Blunt). Later it came to be believed that the Apostles were the authors of them. Their contents are borrowed partly from the works of early ecclesiastical writers, but chiefly from the decrees of councils held before the middle of the fourth century. These canons were collected before the middle of the fifth century; for most of them were translated into Latin by Dionysius Exiguus, towards the end of that century. There were two collections; one containing fifty canons, and the other containing eighty-five. The collection of eighty-five canons, was received by the Council of Trullo (692); of these only fifty are accepted in the Latin Church.

[1] "It is not lawful to baptize without the bishop" (St. Ign. ad Smyrnos). "Neither priest nor deacon has a right to baptize without the command of the bishop" (St. Jerome, *Dial. ad. Lucif.*, § 9).

[2] Tert., *De Bapt.*, i., c. 17. "Alioquin etiam laicis jus est (dandi baptismum); sufficiat ut in necessitatibus utaris, sicuti aut loci aut temporis aut personae conditio compellit."

[3] *E. H.*, vii. c. 2.

who had received such baptism were reconciled to the Church simply by the imposition of hands, accompanied by certain prescribed prayers. Towards the end of the second, or early in the third century,[1] a new custom was introduced into some Churches of Asia Minor and Africa of re-baptising those who had received baptism from heretics. This custom was defended by Tertullian. "We have not," he said,[2] "the same God as they (viz., the heretics), nor the same Christ; nor, therefore, the same baptism, which is one." And we learn from one of St. Cyprian's letters,[3] that Agrippinus, his predecessor in the see of Carthage, presided (about 218) at a synod of bishops of Proconsular Africa and Numidia, which approved of the practice of re-baptism. It was also approved by the two Councils of Iconium and Synnada in Asia Minor, held about 232.[4]

Its origin.

The question does not appear to have attracted much attention for some years previous to the pontificate of St. Stephen (253-257). But, during his pontificate, it gave rise to a very heated controversy; some defending the validity of baptism administered by heretics, others rejecting it as invalid. The revival of the controversy in Asia Minor was due, according to Hefele[5] and Jungmann,[6] to a letter written by Pope Stephen to the bishops of that country, ordering them to desist from the practice of re-baptism. Its revival in Africa was caused by a letter written in 255, in the name

The revival of the controversy.

[1] According to the *Philosophumena*, L. ix., the custom was introduced during the pontificate of Callistus (218-223).

[2] *De Bapt.*, c. 15.

[3] *Ad Quintum.*

[4] If we are to believe Firmilian (Ep. ad Cypr.), Bishop of Caesarea, who took sides with St. Cyprian against Pope Stephen, the custom was from "time immemorial."

[5] *Hist. Conc.*, i. 100-1.

[6] *Dissert.*, i. 322.

of eighteen bishops of Numidia to St. Cyprian, asking his opinion about the practice; they stated that they were themselves in favour of it. They were probably led to suspect its propriety, by seeing it adopted by the Novatianists.[1] St. Cyprian replied,[2] that "converts should be baptized, unless they had received the regular baptism of the Church before falling into heresy or schism, in which case the imposition of hands would be sufficient." He held two synods at Carthage to consider the subject more fully; the first in 255, at which there were thirty-one bishops present; the second, in 256, at which seventy-one attended. The two synods agreed in approving the practice of re-baptism.

St. Cyprian approves the practice of re-baptism.

St. Cyprian sent the decrees of these synods to Stephen I. for confirmation. He appears to have viewed the practice of re-baptism as purely disciplinary, without regard to the question of dogma which it involved. For he held,[3] that it was one about which a difference of observance might exist among Christians, consistently with Catholic unity; while the whole tenor of his writings condemns all diversity of opinion in matters of faith. Therefore, it is clear, however strange it may at first sight appear to us, that he abstracted altogether from the doctrinal aspect of the controversy.

[1] Rob., i. 173.

[2] Ep. 71.

[3] "Ceterum scimus quosdam quid semel biberint nolle deponere, nec propositum suum facile mutare, sed salvo inter collegas pacis et concordiae vinculo quaedam propria, quae apud se semel usurpata sint, retinere. Qua in re nec nos vim cuiquam facimus ant legem damus quando habeat in ecclesiae administratione voluntatis suae arbitrium liberum unusquisque praepositus, rationem actus sui Deo redditurus." (Ep. 72). In another letter (Ep. 73), he gave expression to the same views, stating that the question of re-baptism is one about which bishops are free to use their discretion. Vide Jungmann, *Dissert.*, vol. i., 325.

Pope Stephen's reply to the African Bishops.

The reply of Stephen is not extant, so that we are left to gather its import from the letters of St. Cyprian and Firmilian. From these we learn, that the Pope, having appealed to his authority, as successor of St. Peter, gave his decision in the words so often quoted: "If anyone come to you from an heretical sect, let no innovation be introduced except what is handed down, that hands be imposed in penance." The reply, as thus stated, is manifestly elliptical; and has been variously explained by different writers.[1] They all, however, agree as to its substance, viz., that Stephen condemned the practice of re-baptism.

The Pope charged with heresy.

Stephen has often been charged, because of this decision with teaching that baptism administered by heretics is always valid, whatever matter or form may be used. The charge is obviously unfounded. For—(1), the controversy had no reference whatever to the matter or form of baptism: it was confined entirely to the question of how far heresy in the minister of baptism would interfere with its validity. (2). The early fathers speak of Stephen as the "defender of Apostolic tradition,"[2] and of the "opinion held by the Church."[3] (3). The charge is sufficiently refuted, at least as regards the form of baptism, by the words used by Firmilian, in attacking his opponents. "They (Stephen and his party) think," he says,[4] "that there is no need to inquire who the minister is; because he who is baptized can receive sanctifying grace through the invocation of the *Most Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost.*" Pope Stephen, therefore, taught that

[1] Jungmann, *ibidem.*

[2] Augustine, *De Bapt.*, v. c. 33.

[3] Facundus, *Contr. Herm.*

[4] Apud Cyp., *Ep.* 75.

heresy in the minister does not, of itself, invalidate the sacrament of baptism; but, that those who had been baptized by heretics should be reconciled to the Church by an ecclesiastical ceremony, prescribed for the purpose, consisting in the imposition of hands.

The ceremony of the *imposition of hands.*

By the *imposition of hands*, we are not to understand, as some would have it, the sacrament of confirmation: for the words *in penance*, exclude such interpretation. The imposition of hands was an ancient ceremony used in reconciling different classes of sinners with the Church. St. Cyprian himself refers[1] to it as an "old custom," and says that it was used by the African bishops in restoring to ecclesiastical communion those who had fallen into heresy after having received baptism from orthodox ministers.

The decision of the Pope badly received by St. Cyprian.

Pope Stephen, in his letter to St. Cyprian,[2] threatened to excommunicate all who would persevere in the practice of re-baptism. St. Cyprian received the decision of Rome with anything but good grace; he wrote a letter to Firmilian, in which he made a severe attack on the Pope, accusing the latter of pride and ambition. He convened a Synod at Carthage, in September, 256, at which there were eighty-seven bishops present. In the course of his address to the assembled fathers, he said: "While we spoke our own sentiments, we wished not to judge others; nor did we threaten, because of their opinions, to cut them off from ecclesiastical communion. None of us seeks to become bishop of bishops, nor to reduce his companions in the episcopate to subjection by tyrannical

[1] *Ep. ad Quintum.*

[2] According to many writers he afterwards carried his threat into effect. Rob., i. 173.

intimidation; for every bishop, in virtue of his dignity possesses free power, and can be as little judged by others as he can himself judge others."[1] The fathers decided in favour of the practice of re-baptism.

The details of the subsequent history of the controversy cannot be ascertained with any certainty. We only know that it was terminated much sooner than was anticipated, by the breaking out of the Valerian persecution, and the martyrdom of St. Stephen, in 257; and that Dionysius of Alexandria exerted himself to bring about a reconciliation between St. Cyprian and the Holy See, by writing first to St. Stephen, and afterwards to his successor, St. Sixtus II. It is most likely that the efforts of Dionysius were successful during the pontificate of the latter, for Pontius, a contemporary, and the biographer of St. Cyprian, refers to Sixtus "as a good and peace-making priest."[2] St. Sixtus was martyred in the month of August, 268, and St. Cyprian about a month later, without having changed, as far as we know from history, his opinion about re-baptism.[3]

St. Cyprian most probably reconciled to the Holy See before his death.

After the martyrdom of St. Cyprian, the custom which he championed against Rome, began to die out gradually in the African Church. St. Jerome says[4] that the bishops

[1] Protestant writers frequently refer to these words as a proof that St. Cyprian did not acknowledge the supremacy of the Pope. It is clear that they are rather the expression of excited and disappointed feelings, than of the sincere conviction of St. Cyprian. For, firstly, the principle which they enunciate would, if admitted, destroy all Church government. And, secondly, it is totally at variance with the doctrine laid down in his well-known work, *De Unitate Ecclesiae*, in which he describes the Primacy of the Holy See as the "origin" and "source" of ecclesiastical unity.

[2] *Vita Cypriani*, c. 14.

[3] St. Augustine says (*Ep. ad Vincentium*) that he may have retracted his opinion; but that his retractation was not published by those who were interested in having the authority of his name in favour of their practice.

[4] *Adv. Luciferianos*, 23.

End of the controversy.

who had taken part with St. Cyprian shortly afterwards passed a decree condemning their former practice. We are told by St. Augustine[1] that the question was subsequently decided in favour of Rome by a "plenary Council." It is most likely that he referred to the Council of Arles (314), which enacted that "if schismatical baptism had been administered in the name of the Trinity, converts should be admitted into the Church by the imposition of hands."[2] Some think that the reference is to the Council of Nice,[3] which virtually condemned the opinion of St. Cyprian, by recognising the validity of the Novatianist Orders.

[1] *De Baptismo.* [2] Can. 8. [3] Can. 8.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE HOLY EUCHARIST.

THE Holy Eucharist had been foretold by the Prophet Malachy,[1] and prefigured by various rites of the Old Law, long before it was instituted. Since its institution it has been looked on as the centre and soul of Catholic worship; and the Church has surrounded its celebration with all the pomp and splendour of her ceremonial.

The day of institution.

As we are told in the Canon of the Mass, it was instituted by Christ "on the day before He suffered." But as the day of His death is a subject of dispute, so is the day on which He celebrated the Last Supper. According to the Latins, He suffered on the 15th; according to the Greeks, on the 14th day of Nisan. The opinion of the former is supported by the Evangelists, SS. Matthew,[2] Mark,[3] and Luke,[4] who state that Christ ate the Paschal Supper, and instituted the Blessed Eucharist on the "first day of the Azymes,"[5] which began with sunset on the 14th of Nisan.

The opinion of the Greeks.

The Greeks appeal, in support of their opinion, to the authority of St. John. According to him, (*a*) Christ partook of the Last Supper "before the feast of the Pasch,"[6] *i.e.*, on the 13th of Nisan: (*b*) the Jews had not celebrated the

[1] i. 11. [2] xxvi. [3] xv. [4] xxii.

[5] The Azymes were those days on which only unleavened bread was allowed.

[6] xiii.

Pasch before Christ was condemned to death, for "they did not enter the hall (of Pilate) that they might not be defiled, but that they might eat the Pasch:"[1] (*c*) Christ suffered on the "Parasceve of the Pasch,"[2] *i.e.*, the day before the Pasch; and, consequently, He ate the Last Supper on the 13th of Nisan.

Their objections answered.

The following are the most commonly received answers to these difficulties:—(*a*) St. John speaks of the natural day, which began with the Jews, as with us, at midnight; while the other Evangelists speak of the ecclesiastical day, which, according to the Jewish mode of computation, began with sunset and ended with sunset on the following day. Therefore, what occurred, according to the latter, on the first day of the Azymes may be said to have occurred, according to the former, on the preceding day. (*b*) St. John does not speak of the paschal lamb which was to be entirely consumed on the first night of the Azymes, but of the paschal meal allowed during the seven days of the Azymes, consisting of meat and unleavened bread.[3] (*c*) By the "Parasceve of the Pasch" St. John did not understand the day preceding the first day of the Azymes, but the day preceding the Paschal Sabbath, which was the great feast of the week, as is clear from what is afterwards stated[4] in the same chapter, viz., "Then the Jews (because it was the Parasceve), that the bodies might not remain upon the cross on the Sabbath day (for that was a great Sabbath day), besought Pilate that their legs might be broken."

[1] xviii.

[2] xix. 14.

[3] See Maldonatus, *Comm. in Matth.*, cap. xxvi., v. 2; and Dr. M'Carthy, *Comm. on St. Matthew*, xxvi. 17.

[4] v. 31.

Use of leavened and unleavened bread.

Connected with this difference of opinion about the day on which Christ instituted the Eucharist, is the difference of practice between the Latin and Greek Churches regarding the kind of bread to be used in the celebration of Mass. The Latins use unleavened bread, because, according to them, such was the bread used by Christ in the institution of the Eucharist on the first day of Azymes; while the Greeks use fermented bread, as they hold that Christ celebrated the Last Supper on the day before the Azymes, *i.e.*, on the 13th of Nisan, and used fermented bread.

Antiquity of Greek and Latin usages.

The use of fermented bread is very old, as Greek writers of the third and fourth centuries, such as Origen[1] and St. Chrysostom,[2] speak of the bread used in the celebration of the Eucharist as "ordinary bread." The Latin custom dates at least from the eleventh century, for this was one of the charges brought against the Latins by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople († 1059). Photius when writing against them in the ninth century, did not refer to any difference of practice between the Latins and Greeks on this point. Hence, some writers conclude that the Latin custom was introduced after his time. That it was of earlier origin, can be easily shown from the way in which many writers,[3] who flourished during the ninth century, refer to the bread used in the celebration of the Mass as unleavened bread. And St. Thomas Aquinas[4] quotes from the writings of Pope Gregory I. (590-604), to show that unleavened bread was used in the Latin Church

[1] *Comm. on Matth.*, Migne's *Greek Patrol*, xiii. 944.

[2] *Hom. in Joan.*, vi.

[3] Raban Maur, Paschasius Radbert, Alcuin, &c. The last mentioned, as quoted by Drouen (*De Re Sacr.*, 360), says: "Panis qui in Christi corpus consecratur *absque fermento* debet esse mundissimus."

[4] *Summa*, Tertia Pars, Quaest. 74, art. 4.

as early as the sixth century. According to him, unleavened bread was used at first in the Latin and Greek Churches; but because of the argument which some of the Judaizing sects endeavoured to draw in favour of their opinions from the use of unleavened bread, the custom was introduced of using fermented bread. When, however, these sects passed away, the Latins returned to their original practice, but the Greeks refused to follow their example. Cardinal Bona thinks,[1] that the Latins used leavened or unleavened bread indifferently till the tenth century, when their present practice became obligatory.

Belief of the early Christians in the Real Presence.

The belief of the early Church in the doctrine of the Real Presence can be established from various monuments of antiquity that have come down to us. Thus, the Gospels of SS. Matthew, Mark, and Luke, together with the First Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, supply ample evidence of the belief of the Apostolic age. And, although we cannot expect, owing to *Discipline of the Secret*,[2] to find many references to the Real Presence in the Christian writings of the second and third centuries; still we find

[1] *De Reb. Liturg.*, lib. i., c. 23.

[2] The Discipline of the Secret (*Disciplina Arcani*) was an observance introduced towards the end of the first or early in the second century, by which Jews, infidels, and catechumens were excluded from some ecclesiastical ceremonies and from the knowledge of certain mysteries of the Christian religion. None but the faithful were allowed to be present at the administration of the Sacraments and the oblation of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass; and there was a special secrecy imposed with regard to the doctrines of the Trinity and the Real Presence. A departure from this general rule was sometimes allowable, when required for the good of the Church. Such was the case when Justin Martyr wrote his *Apology to Antoninus Pius*, because the Christian doctrine of the Real Presence had been much misrepresented by the pagans at the time. When, however, there was no such reason to justify explicit reference to the Real Presence, the early Christian writers referred to the Eucharist in such terms as were

sufficient to show that the belief of those ages was not different from that of the first century. For instance, Justin Martyr, in his *Apology to Antoninus Pius*, professes openly his faith in the Real Presence. "And this food," he says,[1] "we will call the Eucharist. For we do not receive these things as ordinary food and ordinary drink; but, as Jesus Christ our Saviour became incarnate by the word of God, and took on Him flesh and blood to accomplish our Redemption; so also have we been instructed, that the food blessed by the word of prayer taught by Him, and by the reception of which our flesh and blood are nourished, is the very flesh and blood of Jesus Incarnate." And witness is borne to the same doctrine in similar terms by Ignatius of Antioch, Tertullian,[2] Clement of Alexandria,[3] Irenaeus,[4] &c.

In the early ages of the Church, the Eucharist was looked on both as a sacrament and a sacrifice. As a sacrament, it was primarily intended for the sanctification of man; as a sacrifice, to give honour and glory to God.

The Eucharist as a *sacrament.*

It was generally administered to the faithful during the first twelve centuries, under the twofold species of bread

intelligible to the Christians alone, by describing it as "the Figure," "the Fish," "the Holy Symbols," &c. The early reformers denied that there was any such observance as the Discipline of the Secret in the early Church. That position has, however, been generally abandoned by recent Protestant writers. "It must suffice," says Smith (*Hist. of Christian Church*, 196), "to say that traces of some sort of esoteric teaching are found as early as the second and third centuries." In proof of the observance of the Discipline of the Secret in the early Church, it is sufficient to refer to the work, *De Praescriptionibus*, written by Tertullian against the heretics of his time, in which he charges the Marcionites with violating it. See Bingham's *Antiq.*, x. 5.

[1] c. 66.

[2] *De Resur. Carnis*, c. 8, *et passim.*

[3] *Paedag.*, i. 6.

[4] *Contra Haer.*, v. 2, 3.

and wine. In some cases, however, it was administered only under one species; for instance, it was usual to administer Holy Communion to children, after baptism, under the appearance of wine; and invalids whose stomachs would not receive wine communicated under the appearance of bread. And, during the persecutions when the Christians could not attend at the celebration of the Divine Mysteries, they were allowed to take with them the consecrated species of bread. and communicated themselves privately: such communion was known as *Domestic Communion.*

Frequency of communion.

During the first three centuries, the Christians used to communicate daily, or, at least, as often as they assisted at Mass; one of the Apostolic canons, as well as a canon of the Council of Antioch (341), forbade the faithful to depart from the celebration of the Divine Mysteries without receiving Holy Communion. During the fourth century, Christians began to grow lax in their religious observances, and to give up the practice of frequent communion. St. John Chrysostom,[1] who flourished towards the end of this century, complained that there were very many who attended at Mass without receiving Holy Communion, and that there were some who communicated only once in the year. It soon became necessary to have recourse to legislation to prevent some Christians staying away from Holy Communion for too long a time. In the sixth century, Christians were declared excommunicated in most parts of the Church, who did not receive the Eucharist for three successive Sundays. The French Synod of Agde,[2] held in 506. required that all should approach the altar at

[1] *Hom.* 3 *in Ep. ad Eph.*, cap. i.

[2] Can. 17.

Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide. The majority of Christians, however, still continued to communicate every Sunday.[1]

In the beginning, Christians did not receive the Holy Eucharist fasting, as it used to be administered in the evening, in connection with the *Agapae* or *Love Feasts*. The practice of receiving it fasting, however, soon began to be introduced out of respect for so great a sacrament. Tertullian, writing about the end of the second century, says [2] that Holy Communion should be received before any other kind of food. The first Council that appears to have enforced this custom was that held at Carthage, in 397, which required [3] that the Eucharist should be received fasting, except on Holy Thursday, when Mass was celebrated in the evening, in memory of the Last Supper. So general had the custom become, about this time, that one of the charges brought against St. Chrysostom, by his enemies was, that he admitted persons to Holy Communion who were not fasting. According to St. Augustine, the custom had become universal in his time. "It is plain," says he,[4] "that when the disciples first received the body and blood of the Lord, they received it not fasting. Does anyone, then, on this account blame the universal Church because it is always received fasting? Nay, for it has pleased the Holy Ghost that, in honour of so great a sacrament, the Body of the Lord should enter the mouth of the Christian before any other food; for it is the custom observed throughout the whole world."

The Eucharist to be received fasting.

[1] *Doll.*, ii. 318; *Alzog*, i. 507.
[2] *Ad Uxorem*, cap. v.
[3] Can. 29.
[4] *Ep. ad Januarium*, No. 118.

The Eucharist as a *Sacrifice.*

The celebration of the Eucharistic Sacrifice was originally very simple. It commenced with the recital of some prayers, and the reading of passages from Sacred Scripture. A homily was then delivered by the bishop, after which the faithful raised their hearts to God in prayer, and the kiss of peace[1] was given. The bread and wine were then presented to the bishop or priest, who pronounced over them the words of consecration, after which Communion was administered to those present.

Twofold kind of Mass.

During the second century the ceremonies of the Mass became more elaborate; and a distinction was drawn between the *Mass of the Catechumens*, and the *Mass of the Faithful*. This distinction is mentioned by Tertullian,[2] in writing against the Marcionites, whom he censures for disregarding it.

The *Mass of the Catechumens* was that part of the Mass at which catechumens, public penitents, and sometimes even pagans were allowed to be present. It consisted of the prayers and ceremonies that preceded the Offertory. It commenced with the singing of a psalm, or the reading of a passage of Sacred Scripture corresponding to the Introit of our Mass. The Divine Mercy was then invoked by the singing of the *Kyrie eleison*, after which followed the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and a prayer called the *Collect*,

[1] The kiss of peace (*osculum pacis*, sometimes called simply Pax) was a ceremony of Apostolic origin, symbolical of Christian love. It is frequently referred to in the New Testament (1 Thes. v. 26; 1 Peter, v. 14, &c.) and by the early Christian writers; for instance, St. Justin Martyr says (1 *Apol.* 23): "When prayers are ended we salute one another with a kiss." We find it enjoined also in the *Apostolic Constitutions* (ii. .57): "Let the men salute one another, and the women salute one another with a kiss in the Lord." The kiss of peace was given, in the East, before the consecration; but, in the West, after it.

[2] *De Praescript.*, 41.

because by it the priest offered up the *united* prayers of the people. The priest having taken his seat, the lector read aloud a passage taken either from the Apostolic Epistles, or from the Old Testament. This was followed by the singing of a psalm called the *Gradual*, after which the lector read a passage from one of the Gospels. About the beginning of the eighth century, the reading of the Gospel was transferred to the deacon; and, at a somewhat later date, the office of reading the Epistle was committed to the sub-deacon. At the conclusion of the Gospel,[1] the bishop delivered a homily or a sermon, after which the deacon gave notice to the unbelievers and the first class of catechumens to retire. Certain prayers were then recited for the catechumens and different classes of sinners, at the conclusion of which the remaining catechumens withdrew. *Mass of the Catechumens.*

On the departure of the catechumens the *Mass of the Faithful* began. Its principal parts were the Offertory, the Consecration, and the Communion. The *Mass of the Faithful.*

At the Offertory the faithful brought forward their gifts of bread and wine, and sometimes the firstfruits of the year, and placed them on the altar. Offerings of money were also generally made for the support of the clergy; these offerings were not placed on the altar; but the donors gave their names to the deacon, by whom they were announced to the congregation, together with the amount given by each. While the offerings were being made, the The Offertory.

[1] The custom of saying the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed during Mass appears to have been first introduced into the Church of Antioch about the year 471, and shortly afterwards in the Church of Constantinople. The third Council of Toledo (589) ordered that it should be recited in all the churches of Spain. The custom was soon adopted in other parts of the Western Church.

choir sang a psalm or antiphon, which received, at a later date, the name of Offertory. At the conclusion of the Offertory, the deacon and sub-deacon took from the bread and wine placed on the altar what was necessary for the Sacrifice of the Mass and Holy Communion, and distributed the rest among the clergy and the poorer members of the congregation.

The Consecration.

The form used in the Consecration of the bread and wine has been always substantially the same both in the Greek and Latin Churches. There were, however, from the earliest times certain points of difference between the two Churches in the ceremonies of this part of the Mass. In the Greek Church a prayer called the *Epiclesis* was recited immediately after the words of Consecration; it was a solemn appeal to the Holy Ghost to descend on the altar, and change the substance of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ. This prayer was considered by many of the Greeks essential to the validity of Consecration. They admitted, at the Council of Florence (1438), that the Consecration was effected by the words of Institution, and explained the subsequent Invocation as a prayer to the Holy Ghost, to descend on those who were to communicate, and prepare them for the reception of the grace of the sacrament. In the Greek Church, when the priest was approaching the Consecration, a curtain was drawn between him and the people, which was removed shortly before the Communion. On the removal of the curtain the Consecrated Species were elevated for the adoration of the people. In the Latin Church, the priest was not shut off from the view of the people during any portion of the Mass; neither was there an elevation of the Consecrated Species till the time of Berengarius

(† 1088), when it was introduced as a protest against his heresy.

We have already treated of the Communion under the head of the Blessed Eucharist as a sacrament.

At the conclusion of the Mass the faithful were dismissed in the East, with the words, *Ite in pace;* and in the West, with the words, *Ite Missa est.*[1]

It is certain, that Mass was originally celebrated for some time in the evening, after the example of our Lord, who celebrated the first Mass after the setting of the sun. It was accompanied by a supper, to which the name of *Agape* or *Love Feast* was given, because it was partaken of by the early Christians in common, and was intended to be an expression of Christian charity. The meat and drink for the feast, as well as the bread and wine for the Sacrifice, were supplied by the richer brethren. It is clear from the first Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, that, for some time after our Lord's Ascension, the Agape preceded the Eucharistic Sacrifice, in imitation of what had occurred at the Last Supper. This gave rise to many abuses, especially at Corinth, which were severely censured by the Apostle in the Epistle referred to. These abuses were, however, soon stopped, as the Eucharistic Sacrifice was separated from the Agape, by the celebration of the former in the morning, and of the latter in the evening. We have no historical evidence to show when this change was introduced. Many think that it was made by the Apostles, and that it is

The *Love Feasts.*

[1] In two most ancient Roman Sacramentaries there are many Masses of the saints. St. Gregory the Great says that in his time Masses were offered up nearly every day in commemoration of the martyrs. During the sixth century Masses in honour of other saints came into use. Doll., *Ch. Hist.*, ii. 320.

referred to by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Corinthians, when he says: "And the rest I will set in order when I come." It appears certain that the change was introduced contemporaneously with the custom of receiving the Blessed Eucharist fasting; and therefore, before the end of the second century. The Council of Carthage (397), as we have seen, mentions only one day in the year, viz., Holy Thursday, on which Mass used to be celebrated in the evening. The causes that led to the separation between the Mass and the Agape, were the abuses connected with the latter, the custom of receiving the Eucharist fasting, and the building of churches, with whose religious character the celebration of public feasts was supposed to be incompatible.

Abolition of Agapae.

The Agapae continued to be celebrated in the evening down to the fourth century, when, owing to the abuses to which they had given rise, they were prohibited in many places. Thus, the Councils of Laodicea (372) and Carthage (395) forbade the Agapae to be held in churches. St. Ambrose abolished them in Milan, and St. Augustine in Hippo. Their example was soon followed in other parts of Italy and Africa. In some countries, however, they continued to a much later date. Thus, "Gregory the Great, to turn the minds of the newly converted English from the feasts of their false deities, permitted them to hold the Agapae in their churches."[1] They were forbidden in France by the Council of Orleans (541), and in the East by the Council of Trullo (692).

Mass of the presanctified.

The *Mass of the Presanctified*, in which no Consecration takes place, was introduced into the Church at a very early

[1] Doll., *Ch. Hist.*, ii. 326.

date. The Council of Laodicea[1] forbade the consecration of bread and wine during Lent, except on Saturdays and Sundays. The second Council of Trullo,[2] in 692, renewed the decree of Laodicea, ordering the *Mass of the Presanctified* to be said on every day during Lent, except on Saturdays, Sundays, and the Feast of the Annunciation; and such is the practice of the Greek Church down to the present day. In the Latin Church, the *Mass of the Presanctified* used to be said, as at present, on only one day in the year, viz., Good Friday.

The Liturgy.

The prayers and ceremonies used in the celebration of Mass, as well as in the other public offices of the Church, are designated by the name of *Liturgy*; and the books containing them are called by the Latins *Sacramentaries* and *Missals*. Proclus, Patriarch of Constantinople († 434), says,[3] that the Apostles arranged a *Liturgy*, before their departure from Jerusalem for their different missions. The Liturgy continued to be very simple for some time after the Apostles; the following is a description given of it by Justin Martyr in his *Apology to Antoninus Pius*: "On Sunday," he says,[4] "a meeting is held of all who live in the cities and villages, and a section is read from the writings of the Apostles and the Prophets, as long as time permits. When the reading is finished, the bishops delivers a homily, admonishing his hearers to practise the virtues suggested by what has been read. After this, we all stand and pray. At the end of the prayer, as already described, bread and wine and water are brought. The Bishop offers prayers

[1] Can. 49.
[2] Can. 52.
[3] Quoted by Cardinal Bona, *De Reb. Lit.*, i. 5.
[4] 67.

and thanks for them, with all the fervour of his soul; and the congregation answers, *Amen*. Then the Consecrated Elements are distributed to those present and carried by the deacons to the houses of the absent."

No. of ancient Liturgies.

The parent Liturgy was gradually developed by the additions made to it in different churches. After a short time, instead of one, there were many Liturgies, all agreeing in their main outline, whilst differing in detail. The number of ancient Liturgies was very large. Some reckon as many as a hundred; and even more, if minor points of difference be taken into consideration. All these may be reduced to two classes, viz.: (*a*) the Oriental, and (*b*) the Western Liturgies. (*a*) The principal Oriental Liturgies were those of Jerusalem, Antioch, Alexandria, and Constantinople, together with those of the Armenians and Nestorians. The Liturgies of Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria, have been superseded by that of Constantinople, which still continues, with some modification, to be the recognised Liturgy of the Greek Church: it is derived immediately from the Liturgies of SS. Basil and Chrysostom. (*b*) The chief Western Liturgies were the Roman, the Milanese or Ambrosian, the Mozarabic, and the Gallican. The oldest forms of the Roman Liturgy are found in the Sacramentaries of Leo I. († 461), Gelasius I. († 496), and Gregory I. († 604). The Canon of the Mass, as found in the Sacramentary of Gregory, is the same, in almost every particular, as that used at present. The Roman Liturgy was adopted, by degrees, in most countries of Latin Christendom.[1] The Council of Trent made it

[1] The ancient Liturgy used in Ireland before the sixth century, called the *Cursus Scotorum* is supposed to have been derived from the Alexandrian Liturgy of St. Mark. It was introduced into different parts of France by

obligatory in all parts of the Church, except where it could be shown that a different Liturgy had existed for a period of two hundred years.[1] It is used at present throughout the Latin Church, with the exception of the diocese of Milan, where the Ambrosian Liturgy still continues; and of a Church in Toledo, in which the Mozarabic is used.[2]

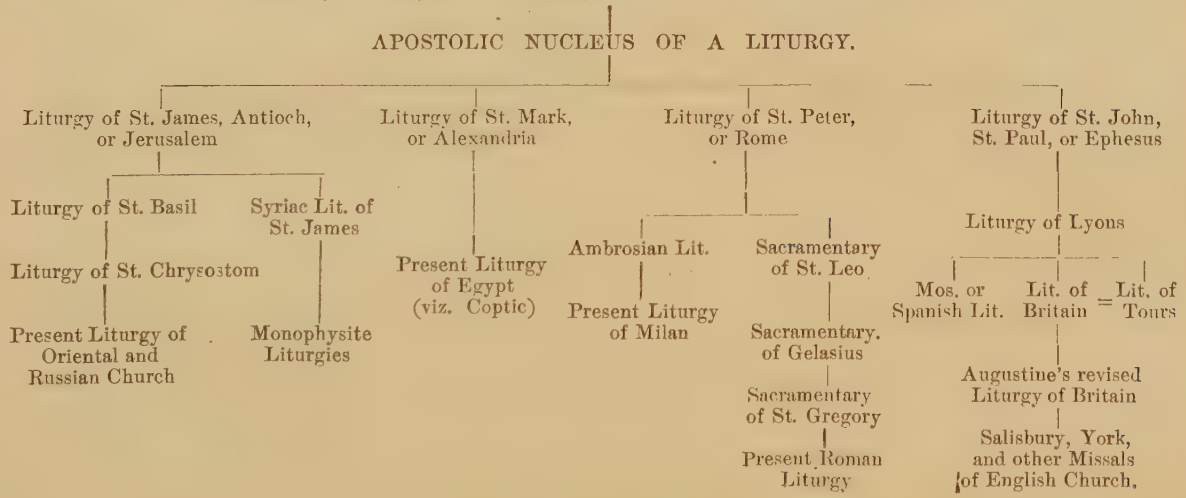
Honoratus, the first Abbot of Lerins, Lupus of Troyes, and Germanus of Auxerre, from which St. Patrick learned it. A copy of this ancient Irish Liturgy was discovered towards the end of the seventeenth century in the monastery of Bobbio, founded by St. Columbanus. Mabillon († 1707), by whom it was discovered, was of opinion that it had been written at least a thousand years before his time; it is at present preserved in the Ambrosian Library at Milan. The Canon of the Mass in the Bobbio Missal is almost the same as that of the Roman; but in the *Communicantes* of the former, there occur the names of St. Martin and other saints not mentioned in the latter. It contains two *Requiem* Masses; one for deceased Christians in general; and the other for deceased priests.

The *Gallican Liturgy*, generally ascribed to St. John the Evangelist, was introduced into Ireland during the sixth century, and continued to be used there down to the twelfth century, when the Roman Missal was introduced through the exertions of Gillebert, Bishop of Limerick. See Lanigan, iv., 368-370; and Dr. Healy, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, 380.

[1] The Bull *Quo primum* of Pius V.

[2] Blunt, in his *Dictionary of Doctrinal and Historical Theology* (art. "Liturgy"), reduces all the ancient Liturgies to four parent Liturgies; viz., those of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Rome, and Ephesus.

The following is the Table given by Blunt to show the connection between the principal Liturgies of the Ancient and Modern Churches of Christendom.


OUR LORD'S WORDS OF INSTITUTION.
APOSTOLIC NUCLEUS OF A LITURGY.
Liturgy of St. James, Antioch, or Jerusalem
Liturgy of St. Mark, or Alexandria
Liturgy of St. Peter, or Rome
Liturgy of St. John, St. Paul, or Ephesus
Liturgy of St. Basil
Syriac Lit. of St. James
Liturgy of St. Chrysostom
Present Liturgy of Oriental and Russian Church
Monophysite Liturgies
Present Liturgy of Egypt (viz. Coptic)
Ambrosian Lit.
Present Liturgy of Milan
Sacramentary of St. Leo
Sacramentary of Gelasius
Sacramentary of St. Gregory
Present Roman Liturgy
Liturgy of Lyons
Mos. or Spanish Lit.
Lit. of Britain
Lit. of Tours
Augustine's revised Liturgy of Britain
Salisbury, York, and other Missals of English Church.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SACRAMENT OF PENANCE.

THE Sacrament of Penance is the ordinary means established by God, in the New Dispensation, for the remission of sins committed after baptism. In it, as in the other sacraments of the New Law, we are to distinguish between what theologians call the Matter and the Form. The former, according to the generally received opinion, consists of the acts of the penitent, viz., Contrition, Confession, and Satisfaction; the latter, of the words of Absolution pronounced by the priest. As Contrition is not of itself an external act, it does not fall under the cognizance of history. We shall, therefore, treat of the Sacrament of Penance, under the three heads of Confession, Satisfaction, and Absolution.

A.—*Confession.*

The necessity of confession always recognised in the Church.

The confession of mortal sins committed after baptism was practised in the Church from the earliest times; and was always looked on as the ordinary means of obtaining their remission. That such was the case can be established by various arguments. *(a)* The name *Exomologesis*, by which the Sacrament of Penance was designated in the early ages of the Church, shows that confession was a part of the sacrament. *(b)* The Montanist and Novatian heresies prove that confession was necessary, as it was principally on a point connected with confession that these

heretics broke with the Church. *(c)* Many writers of the third and fourth centuries bear witness to the practice and teaching of the early Church on the subject. Thus, Tertullian [1] compares those who refuse to confess their sins to a priest, to a patient who, through false shame, conceals the seat of his disease from his physician. Origen treats the subject of confession at great length in many parts of his writings. At one time he speaks of confession as one of the divinely instituted means of obtaining forgiveness of sins; [2] at another, he advises the penitent to be cautious in the selection of a confessor; and, again he lays down the necessity of telling all our sins, however secret they may be.[3] And St. Cyprian [4] relates how those who only resolved to save themselves from persecution by offering sacrifice to the gods, though they did not afterwards carry their resolution into effect, confessed their offence to a priest.

Public Confession.

Confession, as practised during the first four centuries, differed, in one important particular, from confession as practised in more recent times. In those ages, it was sometimes private, as at present; it was, however, frequently made also in public, *i.e.*, before the presbytery and congregation. *(a)* It was necessary to confess publicly all mortal sins that were committed in public, or such as had become public by accident. *(b)* Secret sins were always confessed in the first instance in private. *(c)* Secret sins were afterwards sometimes confessed in public, when such a course was recommended by the confessor. "The Christian," says [5] Origen, "must first determine with

[1] *De Poenitentia* (c. 9, 10), written before he became a Montanist.
[2] In Psal. xxxvii., Hom. 2da.
[3] *In Levit.*, Hom 3tia.
[4] *De Lapsis*, pp. 378-383.
[5] ii., 688.

himself to what priest he will confess his sins; and if he (the priest) shall judge that a public confession before the whole community be advisable, he shall follow the advice given, and confess again with more deliberation."

Priest Penitentiary.

In the East, there was a priest set apart in each diocese to take charge of those who had to make a public confession. He was known by the name of Priest Penitentiary. He looked after the penitents during the period of their probation, and pronounced publicly the sentence of their absolution and reconciliation with the Church. This office was not known in the West; but the duties attached to it were discharged by the Bishop. It is a much disputed point, when the office of Priest Penitentiary was introduced into the Eastern Church. Many, among others Bellarmine,[1] think that it was introduced on the occasion of the Novatian Schism, to superintend the administration of the canonical penances that began, about that time, to assume definite form. Others, however, held that it was introduced at an earlier date.

Abolition of the office of Priest Penitentiary.

The office of Priest Penitentiary was abolished in Constantinople, in the year 390, and soon afterwards in the other churches of the East. The cause[2] that led to its abolition in Constantinople was the public confession made in a church of that city by a respectable female, that, during the period of her penance, she had committed sin with a deacon. This caused much scandal among the faithful at Constantinople; and Nectarius, the Bishop of that city, acting on the advice of a priest named Eudaemon, abolished the office of Priest Penitentiary, and with it the practice of public Confession.

[1] *De Poenitentia*, iii. c. 14.

[2] It is fully described both by Socrates (v. 18) and Sozomen (viii. 19).

Private confession not abolished.

From the abolition of the office of Priest Penitentiary many anti-Catholic writers endeavour to show that Nectarius abolished the practice of private, as well as of public confession; and that, therefore, he and the other bishops of the East who followed his example must have looked on confession as of merely human institution. These conclusions are not warranted by the facts of the case. For, first, there is no evidence to show that Nectarius, or any other bishop, attempted to do away with the practice of private confession. Secondly, the reason for abolishing public confession would not apply at all to private confession. And, thirdly, St. Chrysostom, the successor of Nectarius in the see of Constantinople, lays down in various parts of his writings, the necessity of private confession. The practice of confession continued after his time both in Constantinople and in the other Churches of the East.

Public confession was abolished in the West shortly after the time of Nectarius. Pope Leo I. declared in a letter [1] to the bishops of Sicily, that private confession was sufficient, and forbade them to require the public confession of all sins, particularly of such as might draw upon the sinner the punishment of the State.

The confession of venial sins.

The usage of the early Church, regarding the confession of venial sins, was somewhat different from that which prevails at present. In the early Church it was customary for penitents, when confessing their mortal sins, to confess also the venial sins of which they were conscious. If, however, they had been guilty of only venial sins, they do not appear to have gone to confession for the purpose of

[1] Ep. cxxxvi.

telling them. According to some, the custom of confessing such sins alone was introduced by the Novatianists, who denied to the ministers of the Church the power of remitting mortal sins. According to others, the custom is traceable to the monks, who used to accuse themselves publicly of their venial faults. St. Liguori says[1] that the custom of telling venial sins alone in sacramental confession was not introduced before the eighth century.

Frequency of confession.

Confession was by no means so frequent during the early ages as at present. The reason of this is easily understood, when we remember, on the one hand, that venial sins alone were not made the matter for confession; and, on the other, that, during the ages of persecution and early religious fervour, Christians were rarely guilty of mortal sin. Weekly confession does not appear to have been much practised before the thirteenth century, for St. Francis of Assisi, in the rules which he drew up for his religious, required them to go to confession only in case of necessity, *i.e.*, when they were conscious of mortal sin; and St. Clare required her religious to go to confession only once a month. Priests generally heard confessions beside the altar. Morinus thinks[2] that confessionals were not erected for the purpose before the time of the Council of Trent.

B.—*Satisfaction or Penance.*

The two words are sometimes taken in different senses: they are here used synonymously, to denote a part of the Sacrament of Penance, or the prayers, fasts, alms-deeds, &c., enjoined by the priest before he gives absolution. Penance, in some shape or form, has been always looked on as a part of this sacrament. Still, its character and

[1] *Sulla Matina della Communione frequent Apol.*, ii. 148.

[2] L. ii., c. 3, § 6.

severity have been subject to various changes in different ages of the Church. For the sake of clearness, we shall distinguish four periods in the history of these changes.

First period of the history of penance.

(*a*) The first period extends from the age of the Apostles to the Decian persecution, when the penitential discipline of the Church was severest. During this period the custom was introduced of imposing public penances for grave public sins. The duration of these penances was determined by the discretion of the bishop who imposed them. When a person was declared guilty of a grave public sin by the presbytery, he was subjected to one of the two kinds of excommunication recognised from the earliest times. For the more grievous sins of idolatry, murder, adultery, &c., reconciliation with the Church was supposed to be granted only once; and in some cases. a life-long penance was enjoined. Public penance was obligatory only in the case of public sins: sometimes, however, persons guilty of private sins, submitted to public penance, either from religious impulse, or acting on the advice of their confessors. The penitential discipline began to grow lax during the pontificates of Zepherinus and Callistus; this gave rise to the complaints of the Novatianists, about the middle of the third century.

Second period.

(*b*) The second period extended from the reign of Decius to the abolition of the office of Priest Penitentiary by Nectarius, in 390. During this period, the penitential discipline of the Church was reduced to definite system, and governed by fixed laws. This was done to repel the attacks made on the Church by the Novatianists, for allowing her discipline to become relaxed. The *Penitents*, or such as were undergoing public penance, were divided into four classes; viz., the *Weepers*, the *Hearers*, the *Kneelers*,

Four classes of public penitents.

and the *Co-standers*. This classification of *penitents*, first referred to by Gregory Thaumaturgus, in a letter written by him, in 270, was probably introduced by the Priest Penitentiary. The *weepers* were not allowed to enter the church; but prostrated themselves in the porch, and besought the faithful who entered to intercede in their behalf. The *hearers* were allowed to enter the church, and remain for the reading of the Scriptures and the sermon, after which they retired. The *kneelers* remained for the public prayers recited after the sermon, and for the bishop's blessing, but in a kneeling posture; while the rest of the faithful stood, as a sign of their resurrection from sin. The *co-standers* were allowed to remain during the entire Mass, but were excluded from Holy Communion, and from presenting anything at the Offertory. Penitents generally entered on their course of penance on Ash-Wednesday.

Canonical penances.

The duration and severity of the penances were determined by a code of laws called *Penitential Canons*. They were taken entirely from the writings of the early fathers, and from the canons of early Councils, especially those of Elvira, Ancyra, and Arles. The penances imposed in accordance with these canons of the early Church are given at considerable length by Natalis Alexander.[1] The following will illustrate their general character: "Whoever will deny the Catholic faith, will do penance for ten years." "If any cleric or religious, after having made his vows to God, return to the world, he shall do penance for ten years, during three of which he shall live on bread and water." "Whoever performs a servile work on Sunday, shall be subjected to the penance of living on bread and

[1] *Theol. Moral.*, ii., c. 6, § 7.

water for three days." "He who commits the sin of fornication, will do penance for three years," &c.

The *Penitential Canons* were intended rather for the general guidance of priests, than for determining the precise nature of the penance to be imposed in each case. Confessors were allowed a good deal of discretion in modifying the penance to suit the age and character of the penitent. St. Basil says:[1] "It must be left to the judgment of confessors to determine the nature and duration of the penance for each individual; for age and condition make a great difference in regard to the punishment to be inflicted."

Third period.

(*c*) During the third period which extended from 390 to the seventh century, the penitential discipline of the Church underwent some important changes, the chief of which was the abolition of public confession, and of the distinction between the four classes of penitents. Public penance, however, still continued, the confessors by whom it was imposed being guided in the discharge of their duties by penance books. The rules laid down in these books were based on the old code of penitential discipline, which was so modified as to suit the changed condition of the times. Each country had its own standard writers on the subject, the chief authorities in England and Ireland being the Venerable Bede and St. Columbanus.

Fourth period.

(*d*) The fourth period may be said to extend from the seventh century down to our time. The chief characteristic of this period is the general abolition of public penances of a purely disciplinary character. Public penance is now restricted to the gravest crimes, and such

[1] Can. i.

as are attended by public scandal; in which case it is but the declaration of the natural law, which requires that public scandal should be publicly repaired.

C.—*Absolution.*

The minister.

As defined by the Councils of Florence and Trent, the form of absolution consists in the words, *Ego te absolvo*, &c. Absolution may be either private or public. Private absolution could be given at all times by any priest with the consent of the Bishop. Public absolution, which ceased with the public confession, was given only by the Bishop or Priest Penitentiary. According to the ancient discipline of the Church, it could be given only after the completion of the entire canonical penance. It was given by the imposition of hands, accompanied by certain prayers prescribed for the purpose. Some writers would hold that this public absolution was sacramental; it appears more probable that it was merely an ecclesiastical ceremony, used to reconcile sinners with the Church, and thereby admit them to partake of Holy Communion and to present gifts at the Offertory. This view is borne out by the terms in which it is referred to by early writers. It is described, for instance, as effecting a *perfect reconciliation* (*absolutissima reconciliatio*) of the sinner with the Church, and conferring upon him the right of *full communion (plena communio)* with the faithful; thereby implying that the public absolution had been preceded by a private one reconciling the penitent with God, and *partially* with the Church. It would accordingly appear, that during the first four centuries when a Christian wished to get absolution of his public sins, and to be reconciled with the Church, he proceeded in the following order. He first confessed his

Public absolution.

sins to any priest, by whom he was privately absolved, if he possessed the proper dispositions. He was, however, required to enter on a prescribed course of penance, a part of which was the public confession of his sins. He was then publicly absolved, and restored to complete communion with the Church. The public absolution was generally given in Rome on Holy Thursday; it was given in other Churches on other days also, as on Good Friday and Holy Saturday.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FEASTS AND FASTS OF THE EARLY CHURCH.

§ A.—*The Feasts.*

Sunday.

FROM the very earliest times there were Feast Days set apart by the Church to commemorate particular mysteries of the Christian faith, and to give the faithful an opportunity of attending at the public offices of their religion. The first feast observed by Christians was the Lord's Day, or Sunday. It was intended to take, in the New Dispensation, the place of the Sabbath in the Old; and was instituted to commemorate Christ's Resurrection and triumph over death, and the solemn promulgation of the New Law on the day of Pentecost. It has been observed for centuries as a day of special devotion, and of rest from servile works. We shall briefly inquire when this twofold observance was introduced.

Sunday as a day of devotion.

The Apostles themselves seem to have observed Sunday, or the first day of the week, as a day of special devotion. Thus, they were gathered together on a Sunday, the Octave of the Resurrection, when Christ appeared to them, and allowed St. Thomas to put his hand into His side. [1] They were again assembled in an upper chamber in Jerusalem on a Sunday when the Holy Ghost descended on them. [2] And we are told by St. Luke, [3] that the faithful of Troas were

[1] John, xx. 26.
[2] Acts, ii. 1.
[3] Acts, xx. 6, 7.

assembled on the "first day of the week to break bread," on which occasion St. Paul addressed them. Finally, St. Paul, in writing to the Corinthians, asked them to make their collection for the poor of Jerusalem "on the first day of the week;"[1] implying thereby, that it was the day on which Christians were accustomed to meet for public worship. Hence it is obvious that, if there was not an Apostolic precept, there was, at least, Apostolic example in favour of observing Sunday as a day of special devotion. Many writers lay down that the Council of Jerusalem (50), in giving its decision about the binding force of the Jewish Law, defined, at least implicitly, that the observance of the Jewish Sabbath was not obligatory on pagan converts. Justin Martyr is the first of the fathers who refers to the religious observance of the Sunday; and in his *Apology to Antoninus Pius* he assigns the reasons why it was substituted for the Jewish Sabbath. After his time, Christian writers make frequent mention of it as a day of special devotion.

Saturday observed by the Jews.

The Jewish converts of Asia Minor at first observed the Sabbath as the principal feast of the week. They also observed the first day of the week as a feast day; but they looked on the latter as inferior in dignity to the former. This practice, though frequently condemned,[2] continued in the East down to the sixth century, when the last of the Judaizing sects disappeared. The Sabbath was also observed by the Jewish converts in the West as the principal feast of the week, till towards the end of the second century, when the custom was introduced into the

[1] 1st Ep., xvi. 2.

[2] For instance, the Council of Laodicea (can. 29) forbade cessation from servile work on Saturday as Judaical.

Roman Church of fasting on that day, in order to put a stop to the Jewish observance. This custom was severely censured by Tertullian in his work, *On Fasting.*[1] The festive observance of Saturday, as well as of Sunday, is commanded by the *Apostolic Constitutions.*[2]

The Sabbath observance of Sunday.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to determine when the *Sabbath* observance of Sunday was introduced. Some hold that it is of Apostolic origin; others, with more appearance of probability, that it is of later introduction. According to the latter, cessation from labour was at first prescribed only so far as was necessary to enable Christians to attend at the religious celebrations of the day. The absence of any reference to the Sabbath observance of Sunday in Justin Martyr's *Apology to Antoninus Pius,* though he describes its religious solemnity, is clearly in favour of this opinion. And the reasons urged by him, in his *Dialogue with Tryphon,* against the observance of the Jewish Sabbath, would lose much of their force had Sunday been observed by the Christians of that time as a day of rest. Tertullian is the first writer who refers to the Sabbath observance of Sunday; and even his words, given below,[3] are ambiguous, and are variously interpreted; while Neander[4] understands him to refer to the existence of a law forbidding servile works; others, as Döllinger,[5] say

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[1] c. 16.

[2] vii. 33: "Let the Sabbath and the Lord's Day be observed as festivals: the former, in memory of the Creation; the latter, in memory of the Resurrection."

[3] *De Orat.*, c. 23: "Solo die dominico Resurrectionis, non ab isto tantum, sed ab omni anxietatis habitu ex officio cavere debemus, differentes etiam negotium ne quem diabolo locum demus."

[4] *E. H.* (Eng. ed.), i. 409.

[5] *Hist. of Church* (Eng. ed.), ii. 355.

that "he expresses only a wish that the ordinary occupations of life should be interrupted on the Sunday."

The first law regarding the Sabbath observance of Sunday, of which we have an account, was that passed by Constantine, in 321, forbidding judicial proceedings, military exercises and mechanical employments; but allowing agricultural labour. Theodosius the Great extended the prohibitory law of Constantine to theatrical shows. The Council of Laodicea commanded cessation from manual labour on Sundays, "as far as possible;" the Synod of Orleans (538), while condemning, as Judaical, the prohibition of domestic work, recommended, rather than enjoined, cessation from agricultural labour, "that people might have more leisure to go to church and say their prayers." The Synod of Macon, held shortly afterwards (585), strictly prohibited agricultural labour. The Sabbath observance of Sunday was enforced and obeyed throughout the whole Church, before the end of the seventh century. After this time, we find preachers and spiritual writers appealing to the third precept of the Decalogue, to secure cessation from servile works on the Christian Sabbath.

Cessation from work on Sundays commanded

Though each Sunday was intended to commemorate Christ's Resurrection, this did not prevent the Church setting apart one day in each year, on which the anniversary of so great an event would be celebrated with special solemnity. The day set apart for this purpose was the Festival of Easter.[1] From the very earliest times, however, there was a difference of observance between the Christians

EASTER.

[1] The festival of the Resurrection is called Easter in English speaking countries. It is so called either from the Teutonic word *urston* (to rise up), or from the name of a Saxon goddess, whose festival occurred about the time of the Pasch. Rob., i. 237.

of Asia Minor and those of other countries, regarding the day on which the Festival should be celebrated. This gave rise to the *Paschal Controversy*, which, in one form or another, continued to agitate the Church for centuries. The *Paschal Controversy.*

We must carefully distinguish between two phases of this controversy. One regarded the day of the week on which the Feast of the Resurrection should fall; the other, the cycle that was to be used in determining the Sunday on which it was to be celebrated. The former was settled by the Council or Nice (325); it was only then that the second phase of the controversy, which was confined chiefly to the British Isles, came into prominence.

For the first three centuries, the Festival of the Resurrection *(Pascha Anastasimon)* was always celebrated on Sunday, in Rome and other parts of the Christian world, with the exception of Asia Minor; and the anniversary of Christ's death, on the preceding Friday. In Asia Minor, the Pasch [1] of the Crucifixion was celebrated on the 14th of Nisan; and the Pasch of the Resurrection on the third day following. According to this custom, it is obvious that the festival of Easter would generally fall on some other day than Sunday. This difference of observance is to be explained by the different classes of converts in Asia Minor and in the other parts of Christendom. In the former, they were for the most part Jews, who were accustomed to look on the 14th of Nisan as the greatest feast of their ecclesiastical year; and were, therefore, inclined to subordinate to it the Festival of the Resurrection. The Its origin.

[1] The term *Pasch*, used without a qualifying epithet, was equally applicable, according to the usage of the early Church, to the feast of the Crucifixion and to that of the Resurrection. The former was called *Pascha Staurosimon*, and the latter, *Pascha Anastasimon*.

Christians of the West, on the other hand, were mostly converts from paganism, and were equally anxious to give prominence to the festival that commemorated the Saviour's triumph over sin and death.

The *Quartodecimans.*

Those who always celebrated the Pasch of the Crucifixion on the 14th of Nisan, were called *Quartodecimans.* They were divided into two classes, viz., the *orthodox*, who celebrated the Pasch as a Christian festival; and the *unorthodox*, who looked on it as a continuation of the Jewish Pasch in the Christian Dispensation. The Christians of Asia Minor traced their custom to SS. John and Philip, while those of Rome and the other churches of the West traced theirs to SS. Peter and Paul.

Efforts to bring about uniformity in the celebration of Easter.

The first attempt, of which we have an account, to bring about a uniformity in the celebration of Easter, was made during the pontificate of Anicetus (157-168). Polycarp, Bishop of Smyrna, came to Rome to treat with the Pope on the matter; but his mission does not appear to have been attended with any success. Soter (168-177), the successor of Anicetus, while tolerating the Asiatic custom, expressed a wish that the Roman should be adopted. A heated controversy, however, broke out about 170 A.D., between the two sections of the Quartodecimans regarding the character of the Pasch. Many of them fell away from the Church and embraced Judaism, among whom may be mentioned two Roman priests, named Florinus and Blastus. When Victor became Pope (191-201), he resolved to put an end, if possible, to a custom which was attended with such evil consequences, and which was used as a cover to propagate Jewish errors. He ordered Synods to be held throughout the Christian world to consider the Paschal Question. We are told by

Pope Victor and Polycrates.

Eusebius,[1] that the bishops of the whole Church, with the exception of those of Asia Minor, approved of the Roman custom. The latter held a Synod, presided over by Polycrates, Archbishop of Ephesus, at which it was resolved to adhere to their own usage. According to Hefele,[2] this Synod was held at the same time as the others; while Palma[3] says that it was held after the other Synods, when the Pope's position was strengthened by the general approval of the Christian world.

Bishops of Asia Minor refuse to adopt the Roman custom.

Polycrates[4] wrote a letter to Pope Victor, in the name of the assembled bishops, refusing to conform to the Roman custom, and setting forth the grounds of their refusal. He stated that they had in their favour the Gospel history and the example of SS. John, Philip, and many other holy bishops and martyrs; and as to the threat of excommunication held out by Victor, he said that they preferred to obey God rather than man. It is disputed[5] whether the Pope carried out his threat. But if he did, it is certain that the excommunication was soon removed, as many Western bishops, especially St. Irenaeus,[6] interested themselves in favour of the Eastern Christians, and besought the Pope not to cut them off from communion with the Church. Firmilian,[7] Bishop of Caesarea, in Cappadocia, who flourished shortly afterwards, says that, owing to this timely interference, the Christians of Asia Minor

[1] *E. H.*, v. c. 23.

[2] *Hist. of Councils*, i. 289.

[3] *Praelect*, i. 85.

[4] Apud Euseb., *loco citato.*

[5] Palma, *Praelect.*, i. 86.

[6] "Eum decenter admonuit, ne integras Dei ecclesias morem sibi a majoribus traditum custodientes, a communione abscindat." Euseb., *H. E.*, v. c. 24.

[7] Epist. ad Cyprianum, No. 75.

remained in communion with the Church. They steadfastly adhered to their custom till the Council of Nice[1] declared in favour of that of Rome, and condemned the Quartodecimans. Notwithstanding their condemnation, some of them, as we learn from the canons passed against them by the Councils of Antioch[2] (341), Laodicea[3] (372), and Constantinople[4] (381), still persevered in celebrating Easter according to the old custom.

Pentecost.

The Feast of Pentecost, celebrated on the 50th day after that of the Resurrection, was observed with special solemnity to commemorate the Descent of the Holy Ghost on the Apostles. We find it referred to by Tertullian[5] and Origen.[6] The entire period between Easter and Pentecost was observed in the early Church as one continued festival, during which fasting was prohibited,[7] and public prayers were recited, not kneeling, but standing,[8] to symbolize the triumph of Christ over sin and death.

The Ascension.

The Feast of the Ascension was also celebrated at a very early period. It is one of the oldest of the Church's festivals. St. Augustine speaks[9] of it as one of the four

[1] The Council of Nice passed no canon on the matter. We learn its decision from a letter written by Constantine to the Churches of Christendom. Euseb., *Vita Const.*, Lib. iii., cc. 16, 17, 18. Theodoret, *H. E.*, i. c. 10.

[2] Can. i.

[3] Can. 7.

[4] Can. 7.

[5] *De Idol.*, 14.

[6] *Contra Celsum*, viii. 392 (ed. Cant.).

[7] *Apost. Const.*, v. 33.

[8] *Con. Nic.*, c. 20.

[9] Ep. ad Jan. liv. Al. cxix.: "Quae toto terrarum orbe servantur quod Domini passio, et resurrectio, et ascensio in coelum, et adventus de coelo Spiritus Sancti anniversaria solemnitate celebrantur."

great feasts of the year which were observed throughout the whole Christian world in his time. During the fifth century the custom had become pretty general, of observing the three days immediately preceding it as days of public prayer, or *Rogation Days*.

Christmas.

The Festival of Christmas was also observed by Christians at an early date; but the time of its institution is not known with any certainty. St. Augustine does not mention it among the four great feasts celebrated *throughout the world* in his time. However, it is certain that it was observed in particular churches long before his time, for it is mentioned by Clement of Alexandria, who says,[1] that there was much diversity of opinion regarding the day on which it was to be kept. In the East, it was celebrated by some on the 20th of May; it was, however, more generally observed there on the 6th of January; and was intended to commemorate not only Christ's Nativity, but also His Baptism, as it was inferred from the words of St. Luke[2] that the latter event occurred on the anniversary of the former. It was celebrated in the Western Church on the 25th of December. Towards the end of the fourth century the Eastern Churches began to separate the Festivals of the Nativity and the Epiphany, and to follow the Roman custom of celebrating Christmas on the 25th of December. Thus, St. John Chrysostom, speaking at Antioch, on Christmas Day, in the year 386, declared that "it had become known there less than ten years before;" and refers to it as a festival "that was formerly uncertain, but that had been made known of late years by some coming from the West." It soon became the most important

[1] *Strom.*, i. 408. [2] Gosp., iii. 23.

festival of the year, owing chiefly to the privilege granted to priests to say three Masses on that day.[1]

The Epiphany.

The Festival of the Epiphany was first introduced into the Eastern Church, where it was celebrated at a very early date. Clement of Alexandria[2] and the *Apostolic Constitutions*[3] speak of it as being celebrated on the 6th of January. As observed in the Eastern Church, it was intended to commemorate the public manifestation of Christ to the world by His Baptism in the Jordan, and by the performance of the first miracle at the Marriage Feast of Cana. It was also intended, as we have seen, in most Churches of the East to commemorate the Nativity, or His manifestation to the world in the flesh, until a distinct festival was introduced for that purpose.

Introduced into the West.

This festival was introduced into the Western Church during the fourth century. It is first mentioned there by Ammianus Marcellinus,[4] who says that Julian the Apostate, shortly before his apostacy, was present in a Christian church in Vienna on the feast of the Epiphany (360). It appears not to have been observed in the West before the fourth century, for towards the end of that century the Donatists objected to this festival, as they did to the other changes introduced since their secession from the Church. As celebrated in the West, it was intended chiefly to commemorate the public manifestation of Christ to the Gentiles through the Magi; and Leo I., in his eight homilies on the Epiphany, assigns no other reason for its observance.

[1] "Quia largiente Domino Missarum Solemnia hodie celebraturi sumus, loqui de evangelica lectione diu non possumus." Greg., *Mag. Hom.*, viii. *in Evang.*

[2] *Strom.*, i. 421.

[3] viii. 33.

[4] *Hist.*, xxi. c. 2.

§ B.—*The Fasts.*

Fasting is recommended both on moral and physiological considerations, and has been practised in some form or another at all times, and in nearly all forms of religion. It was, however, reserved for the Christian religion to inculcate it on an extensive scale, and to place its observance on high supernatural grounds. Fasting.

The Apostles did not fast during our Lord's stay on earth, because of the incongruity of having the children of the Bridegroom mourn as long as the Bridegroom was with them.[1] Christ, however, prophesied the advent of the time when they too should fast. "The days will come," said He, "when the bridegroom shall be taken away from them, and then they shall fast." The prophecy was soon fulfilled, for, immediately after His Ascension, fasts were observed in the Church, the chief of which were those of the Station Days, Lent, Advent, and Quarter Tense.

The Station Days[2] were the Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, with the exception of those occurring between Easter and Pentecost, when fasting was prohibited. They were observed as days of special devotion, when Christians stood during the public prayers, and fasted up to three o'clock p.m., the hour at which Christ expired on the Cross. Epiphanius says[3] that those fasts were of Apostolic origin. Station Days.

[1] Matth. ix. 15.

[2] They were called Station Days, either because the Christians stood during the public prayers on those days; or, more probably, in allusion to the military character of the Christians, who set these days apart as days of *watching* against their spiritual enemies. The latter is the explanation given by Tertullian (*De Orat.*, c. 14).

[3] *Expos. Fidei*, c. 22.

Lent: its Apostolic origin.

The Lenten, or ante-Paschal fast is most probably of Apostolic origin. It is mentioned both by Origen[1] and Tertullian;[2] according to the former, it consists of forty days, in memory of Christ's fast in the wilderness. St. Jerome[3] says that "we observe one Lenten fast of forty days according to Apostolic tradition;" and St. Augustine writes:[4] "We are required by the usage of the Church to observe a fast of forty days before Easter."

Duration of Lent.

It would appear, however, that a uniformity of practice regarding the duration of the Lenten fast was far from prevailing before the seventh century. Some began the fast on the day following Quinquagesima Sunday. Others did not begin it till a week afterwards, and, as they did not fast on Sundays, the Lenten fast was restricted to thirty-six days, or a "tithe of the year."[5] The latter was most probably the practice of the Latin Church, down to the time of Gregory the Great,[6] by whom, according to many writers, Ash Wednesday and the three following days were added, to make up forty days. The old Lent of thirty-six days is still observed in the diocese of Milan. In the early Irish Church the Lenten fast began on the Saturday preceding the first Sunday of our Lent.[7] According to Dr. Lanigan,[8] this continued to be the case, at least down to the tenth century.

The laws of the Quadragesimal fast were very strict.

[1] Hom x. in Levit.
[2] *De Jej.*, c. 2.
[3] Ep. lix.
[4] Ep. cxix. ad Januarium.
[5] Socrates, *Ecc. Hist.*, v. 22.
[6] Hom. xvi. in Evang.
[7] *Trip. Life of St. Patrick*, ii. c. 19.
[8] *Eccl. History of Ireland*, iv. 349.

No food was allowed till evening; and, even then, it was to be of the simplest kind, animal food and wine being strictly prohibited. St. John Chrysostom speaks [1] of many who used to live, during the whole Lent, on bread and water.

Lent in the Greek Church.

Fasting is enforced with much more rigour in the Greek than in the Latin Church. It extends over nearly three-quarters of the year, viz., all Wednesdays and Fridays, except during Paschal time, forty-eight days of Lent, thirty-seven days of Advent, fourteen days in honour of the Blessed Virgin; vigils; and the whole period between Trinity Sunday and the 29th of June, in honour of the Apostles.

Advent.

Maximus, Bishop of Turin, delivered a series of sermons on Advent, in 450, in which he described it as a season of fasting and special devotion. This is the first reference we find in history to the penitential observance of Advent. Its fast was not so severe as that of Lent. The number of fast days varied at different times, and in different countries. In France, it began during the sixth century with the Sunday after St. Martin's Day, and lasted six weeks, fasting being prescribed on three days in each week. In the Roman Church, it originally continued for five weeks; but it was afterwards reduced to four.

The fasts of Quarter Tense.

The fasts of the *Four Seasons (Quatuor Temporum)* were introduced before the middle of the fifth century; for Leo I. speaks [2] of fast days being set apart to beg the blessing of God on the several seasons of the year, and to return thanks for the benefits received during each. Gelasius I.

[1] Hom. iv. on Statues.

[2] Sermo viii. de jej. dec mens.

(492-496) prescribed[1] that the ordinations of the clergy should be confined to four specified periods of the year. But the times mentioned by him did not exactly correspond with the Quarter Tense weeks;[2] though, according to Raban Maur,[3] they were the same. The rule[4] by which the Ember fasts are at present determined was fixed by the Council of Placentia (1095). They are the Wednesdays, Fridays, and Saturdays following the first Sunday of Lent, Pentecost, and the feast of the Holy Cross (September 14th), and the feast of St. Lucy (December 13th).

[1] Ep. ix. ad Epis Lucaniae.

[2] Rob., ii. 361.

[3] Sacras ordinationes *quatuor temporum* diebus oportere fieri, decreta Gelasii papae testantur (*De Inst. Cler.*, ii. c. 24).

[4] Post Luciam, Cineres, post Sanctum Pneuma, Crucemque, Tempora dat Quatuor feria quarta sequens.

CHAPTER XVI.

ARIANISM.

Arianism a remarkable heresy.

WITH the exception of the so-called Reformation of the sixteenth century, no more remarkable heresy has ever made its appearance than Arianism. It is remarkable, for many reasons; but chiefly, because of the doctrine which it attacked, and the rapidity of its spread. It attacked the fundamental article of Christian belief, viz., the Divinity of Christ, and it spread with a rapidity unequalled in the history of heresies. Within six years after it had been publicly propounded by Arius, it was to be found in almost every part of the Christian world, and it became necessary to hold a General Council to stop its spread; but the Council that was intended to remedy seemed but to increase its evil. The heresy continued to distract the Church for the greater part of a century. Various Councils were held, and formularies of faith without number proposed, to effect a re-union between the orthodox Christians and the Arians. It was only during the reign of Theodosius (379-395) that Arianism, deprived of the prop of state patronage that had supported it so long, began to meet the fate of all heresies, and to rapidly disappear within the limits of the Roman Empire.

We shall treat of Arianism under the following heads: viz.,—(*a*) Arius and his errors; (*b*) the cause of the rise and spread of Arianism; (*c*) the Councils held in connection with it; and (*d*) the causes of its downfall.

A.—*Arius and his Errors.*

Early life of Arius.

Arius, from whom the heresy derives its name, was a native of Libya, and was born about A.D. 256. He was educated at Antioch, where he attended the lectures of Lucian, and had as fellow-student Eusebius, afterwards Bishop of Nicomedia. He was ordained deacon by Peter, Patriarch of Alexandria, about the beginning of the fourth century. At this time the Church of Egypt was disturbed by the Meletian schism.[1] Arius, who is described as a man full of pride and ambition, took the side of Meletius in his opposition to the Bishop of Alexandria, for which he was excommunicated by the latter. But Achillas, Peter's successor, restored Arius to his office, and ordained him priest in 311. He soon attained a high degree of popularity as a preacher and interpreter of Sacred Scripture. On the death of Achillas (312), Alexander was elected as his successor, to the great disappointment of Arius, who expected that the honour would be conferred on himself.

His doctrines become public.

The heretical opinions of Arius became public in 318. In that year, Alexander, while addressing a public assembly of his clergy, spoke of the Blessed Trinity as containing but one Essence and one indivisible Unity of Substance. He was immediately accused[2] by Arius of

[1] The author of this schism was Meletius, Bishop of Lycopolis. Its origin is variously explained. Some say that Meletius objected to the lenient way in which the Bishop of Alexandria dealt with those who had fallen away during the Diocletian persecution. Others assert that he had been excommunicated and deposed for having offered sacrifice to idols. It is said that the schismatical party had at one time as many as twenty bishops. The Council of Nice endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between them and the Church. See Rob., i. 281.

[2] Socrates, *E. H.*, i. c. 5.

teaching Sabellianism. Alexander treated Arius with great leniency in the beginning, and used every means that a prudent zeal could suggest to win him back to the truth; but in vain. At length he held a Council at Alexandria, in 321, at which a hundred Egyptian and Libyan bishops attended. The doctrines of Arius were declared heretical, and he himself was excommunicated. He then withdrew from Egypt to Palestine, where he was kindly received by Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea. He shortly afterwards went to Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, with whom he had been on familiar terms at Antioch. The latter embraced his doctrines, and secured for him the favour of Constantine and of many bishops in Asia Minor. During his stay at Nicomedia, he wrote some works in defence of his opinions, the best known of which is his *Thalia*.[1] It was written in prose and verse, and contained a popular exposition of his system. Different parts of it used to be sung by the Arian Neophytes; only a few fragments have come down to us.

The *Thalia*.

His heresy was condemned by the Council of Nice, and Constantine issued an edict ordering his writings to be burned, and himself to be exiled to Illyricum. He was allowed to return in A.D. 328, owing to the influence of Constantia, the Emperor's sister, and Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia. He was, indeed, required to subscribe to a formulary of faith, but this was a mere pretext, for the formulary was drawn up by himself, and was couched in ambiguous terms which did not condemn his errors. Athanasius, who had succeeded to the see of Alexandria, in A.D. 326, refused to remove the sentence of excommunication, except on the condition of his accepting the

His exile and return.

[1] *θάλεια* means a banquet.

Nicene Creed, which he refused. In A.D. 336, he went to Constantinople, and presented to the Emperor another profession of faith, which was more precise than the last; yet not sufficiently so, to condemn his heresy. The Emperor declared himself satisfied with the new profession of faith, and ordered the Bishop of Constantinople to receive Arius into ecclesiastical communion. He was on his way to the church in Constantinople to receive Holy Communion, when he was seized with a violent fit of hemorrhage, and died (336).[1]

Doctrines of Arius.

The fundamental doctrine of his heretical system was, that the Second Person of the Trinity is a mere creature. This doctrine he deduced from the title of Son, applied to the Logos in Sacred Scripture. "If the Logos," said Arius, "be the Son of God, He must have had an origin; if He had an origin, He must have had a beginning; and if He had a beginning, He must be a creature."[2] From this, the central doctrine of his system, the others necessarily followed, viz.—(*a*) the Son of God did not exist from eternity; (*b*) He is inferior to the Father, as the creature must be to the Creator; (*c*) the substance of the Son is different from that of the Father; and (*d*) the Logos is God, not by nature, but by a participation of the Divine power and prerogatives.

B.—*The Causes of the Rise and Spread of Arianism.*

Gnosticism.

Firstly.—Gnosticism, which received its complete development towards the end of the second century, prepared the way for Arianism; for, according to the Gnostic teaching, the Logos was an inferior emanation of the

[1] St. Ath., *De Morte Arii*, 3.

[2] Socrates, i. c. 5; Theodoret, i. c. 4.

Divinity, and began to exist in time. Gnosticism had, indeed, practically ceased as a religious system, before the birth of Arianism; but its influence was still sufficiently felt to make men less opposed to receive a doctrine which was but Gnosticism presented in a new and more fascinating garb. And what has been said of Gnosticism, may be said with equal truth of Neo-Platonism, which was most flourishing just at the time that Arianism made its appearance.

Anti-Trinitarian heresies.

Secondly.—The Anti-Trinitarian heresies of the second and third centuries are generally assigned as one of the causes of the rise and spread of Arianism; and with good reason, for, according to these heresies, there is no distinction of Persons in the Godhead; consequently, it was argued, if, as Catholic theology teaches, the Logos is a distinct Person from the Father, He must not be God, but a mere creature.[1]

Ambiguous language used by Ante-Nicene fathers.

Thirdly.—Another cause of the origin of Arianism is to be found in the vague forms of expression used by some of the Ante-Nicene fathers, in speaking of the relation between the Father and the Son. We find, for example, the Arians claiming Origen as teaching the same doctrines as themselves, because he spoke of an inequality between the Father and the Son; though, as we have seen, St. Athanasius defended him against this charge. And we find others speaking of the *Temporal Generation* of the Son; at the same time, those who speak thus teach in unmistakable terms His Divinity, Eternity, and

[1] It is remarkable that Lucian, under whom Arius studied at Antioch, had been once a follower of Paul of Samosata, though he afterwards returned to communion with the Church, and suffered martyrdom during the Diocletian persecution. The Arians claimed him as their founder.

Consubstantiality with the Father. It is disputed, how far the fathers referred to held, besides the *Temporal*, the *Eternal Sonship* of the Logos. Franzelin,[1] Jungmann,[2] and most modern Catholic writers maintain that they believed in the Eternal Generation of the Word, and that they understood by His Temporal Generation the manifestation of the Eternal Sonship *ad extra*, in the creation of the world. Dr. Newman and many others hold a different opinion. Writing on this subject, he says: "I am obliged to own that I cannot acquit a large proportion of them (the Ante-Nicene fathers) of using language concerning the Divine Sonship which it is difficult to distinguish from what in St. Augustine's day would have been considered heretical, or close upon heresy. The doctrine which they favour is the Temporal Genesis, viz., that the Eternal Word was not the Son from everlasting, but became the Son before the creation, in order to be Creator; and this doctrine, afterwards stigmatized as a heresy, is, it is plain, in real connection historically, and in apparent connection theologically, with Arianism. . . . That these writers held both the eternity and the hypostatic existence of the Word, I think beyond a doubt. Still, that they believed in His eternity, viewed as the Son, I cannot persuade myself, if their language is the index of their belief."

The Eternal Sonship of the Word.

Fourthly.—A cause which contributed not a little to the rise and spread of Arianism was the difficulty which the early writers had to contend with, in expressing in precise terms the relations between the Father and the Son. It will, no doubt, strike us, at first sight, as strange, that a

Difficulty of expressing the doctrine of the Trinity.

[1] *De Verbo Incar.*, 106.

[2] *Dissert. in Hist. Eccl.*, vol. i., Diss. v.

heresy which attacked the fundamental dogma of the Christian faith should spread so rapidly. But we must remember that in those early ages, Christians had not, as they have at present, a well-defined theological terminology. They had to borrow from pagan literature the terms in which to express the sublime truths of Revelation, and it was generally difficult to accommodate the language of paganism to Christian theology. This difficulty was particularly felt in the case of the Blessed Trinity, and for a twofold reason. In the first place, the doctrine is the most sublime in itself. And, secondly, the words used to express it were originally taken in different senses. Thus the word *ousia* has now a definite meaning; so have *hypostasis* and *homoöusion:* not so during the first ages of Christianity. The words *ousia* and *hypostasis* were then used indiscriminately, to denote a person or a substance, and continued to be thus used down to the Council of Nice (325), after which *ousia* was restricted to one sense; *hypostasis* retained its twofold meaning down to the fifth century. It is obvious that the meaning of *homoöusion* must entirely depend on the meaning attached to the word *ousia.*[1]

Many Roman Emperors favour Arianism.

Fifthly.—What contributed most to the spread of Arianism was the favour which it enjoyed from different Roman Emperors. Constantine was at first favourable to Arianism until the Council of Nice, after which he opposed it till 328. After this time the Arians enjoyed the same rights and privileges as the orthodox Christians, through the influence of Constantia, who had been won over to the side of the former by Eusebius of Nicomedia. Constantius,

[1] Newman's *Arians of the Fourth Century,* Appendix, note 4, page 432.

who succeeded his father as Emperor of the East, in 337, and became sole Emperor in 350, was an avowed Arian, and left no means untried to promote the interests of his party. His successor, Julian the Apostate (361-363), treated the Catholics and Arians alike. He allowed those who had been sent into exile for the faith to return; not that he admitted their innocence, for he looked on all Christians as equally wicked; but for the purpose of increasing the divisions among them, and thus bringing discredit on their religion. Jovian (363-364) was a zealous defender of the Nicene Creed; but his reign was too short to enable him to promote to any notable extent the interests of orthodoxy. His successor, Valens (364-375), used every effort to spread the Arian heresy among his subjects. It was only when Theodosius became Emperor of the East,[1] in 379, that the state favour which the Arians had so long enjoyed ceased; and with it their last hopes of success disappeared.

C.—*The Sects among the Arians.*

The Arians soon paid the penalty of their heresy, by splitting up into a number of sects. The chief of those were the *Semi-Arians*, the *Acacians*, and the *Anomoeans*.

Semi-Arians.

The *Semi-Arians*, who continued to be the prevailing sect, from 325 to about 350, admitted the Nicene Creed, with the exception of the term *homoüsion* (*the same in substance*), instead of which they would have *homoiousion* (*like in substance*). Eusebius, Bishop of Caesarea, and Eusebius, Bishop of Nicomedia, were the leaders of this sect; hence they are sometimes called Eusebians. They taught that

[1] He became sole Emperor in 394, and died in 395.

the Word was the Son of God, begotten before all time, and *like* the Father in *substance.* They are spoken of in favourable terms by SS. Athanasius,[1] and Hilary[2] of Poitiers, who referred to them as "brethren," and were inclined to look on some of them as orthodox in belief, though they refused to accept the test word of Catholic orthodoxy.

The *Acacians* derive their name from Acacius, who had been pupil of Eusebius of Caesarea, and afterwards his successor in that see. He taught that the Word was *like* the Father, though not in *substance;* hence his followers are frequently known as *Homoeans.* He does not appear to have much constancy in belief, for he began by professing Semi-Arianism, the creed of his master; he then became the founder of the sect that bore his name; afterwards he joined the Anomoeans; and, finally, embraced the Nicene faith, during the reign of Jovian. It is uncertain when he broke away from the Semi-Arians; it was some time between A.D. 349 and A.D. 357. The Acacians objected to what they looked on as the too precise terminology of the Semi-Arians, and adhered strictly to Scriptural language in expressing the relations between the Father and the Son. They said that the doctrine of the Blessed Trinity was so sublime and unintelligible, that it was not safe to depend on mere human phraseology to express it. Hence, they would not say that the Son is like the Father *in substance,* as that is not stated in Sacred Scripture; but simply, that He is *like* the Father, or, at most, *like in all things.* The Acacians.

[1] *De Synodis,* 41.

[2] *De Synodis,* 76-91. Sed disputamus veluti fratres cum fratribus qui eadem qua nos sunt sententia, sed solo nomine in controversiam adducto.

The Anomoeans.

The *Anomoeans* held that the Word was *unlike* the Father; hence their name. They rejected the idea of mysteries in religion, and maintained that we can fully comprehend the Essence of God. They sprung up in the East about 351, and differed from the original Arians and Acacians only in name and the wording of their formularies of faith. The origin of this sect is variously attributed to Aetius, a Deacon of Antioch, and Eunomius, Bishop of Cyzicum. It appears certain that the Anomoean system was first formulated by Aetius, a man noted for his disputatious character; and that it was afterwards fully developed by his pupil, Eunomius. In memory of these two, the Anomoeans were sometimes styled *Aetians*, and sometimes *Eunomians*.

D.—*Councils held in connection with Arianism.*

There were a large number[1] of Councils held during the Arian controversies. This was the age of Councils, as it was of formularies of faith. We shall give a brief history of the principal ones, from the Council of Nice (325) to that of Constantinople (381).

The Ecumenical Council of Nice (325).

Council of Nice.

This, generally reckoned the first Ecumenical Council of the Church, was held at Nice, a city of Bithynia, in Asia Minor. The chief purpose for which it met was to terminate the Arian controversies. It was convoked by Constantine, who acted with the consent and authority

Convocation.

of Pope Sylvester I. (314-335). No authentic copy of the letter of convocation has come down to us; but, in the

[1] Dr. Newman (*Arians of the Fourth Century*) mentions twenty-four Councils between 325 and 381.

absence of such copy, we may presume that the Emperor acted on the authority of the Pope. For, first, the convocation of a Council is an act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, to which the Emperor could not lay claim. Secondly, one of the Papal Legates presiding at the Council of Chalcedon (451) refused to admit Dioscorus "because he dared to hold a Synod without the authority of the Apostolic See, *which was never lawful, and never occurred.*"[1] And, thirdly, according to the Acts[2] of the sixth Ecumenical Council (680), the Council of Nice was convoked by Constantine and Sylvester.

Number of bishops.

In response to the letters of convocation, three hundred and eighteen bishops assembled at Nice, in 325. They were nearly all from the East, only six being from the West. The Pope was represented by Hosius, Bishop of Cordova in Spain, and two Roman priests, Vitus and Vincent. They presided at the Council, and signed[3] its decrees before the other fathers present, which clearly shows that they acted as the representatives of the Pope, for otherwise they could not have taken precedence of the Patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, who were present.

Constantine present as moderator.

Constantine arrived at Nice about a fortnight after the opening of the Council, and transferred its sittings from the church in which they were at first held to his own palace. He attended at the remaining Sessions as moderator, and not as president, as some Protestant writers would have us believe. This is evident from the

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[1] Harduin, *Coll. Conc.*, vol. ii., 70.

[2] "Continuo Constantinus semper Augustus et Silvester laudabilis magnam atque insignem in Nicaea Synodum congregabant."

[3] Vitus and Vincent signed the decrees as representatives of the Pope; Harduin, *Coll. Conc.*, vol. i., 312.

contrast drawn by Eusebius[1] of Caesarea, who was present at the Council, between Constantine and the *presidents*. The number of Arian bishops present is variously estimated at between sixteen and twenty-three. Arius attended in person, and defended his doctrines as best he could.

The Nicene Creed.

His chief opponents were Marcellus, Bishop of Ancyra, and the Deacon Athanasius from Alexandria. The vast majority of the fathers were in favour of condemning the doctrines of Arius as heretical. They experienced, however, not a little difficulty in finding terms sufficiently precise to express the Catholic teaching, and at the same time exclude an Arian interpretation.

At length, the term *consubstantial* (*homoöusion*) was suggested by Athanasius: it was immediately adopted, and a formulary of faith embodying it was drawn up by Hosius. From this time to the end of the Arian controversies the word *consubstantial* continued to be the test of Catholic orthodoxy. The formulary of faith drawn up by Hosius is known as the Nicene Creed: it was signed by all the bishops, with the exception of two from Egypt, named Secundus and Theonas, who, together with Arius, were sent into exile to Illyricum. Three months later, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nice were condemned by a local Synod, because they held communication with the Arians, and were sent into exile by the Emperor; but they were soon afterwards allowed to return to their dioceses.

The fathers of Nice, having disposed of the principal business for which they met, turned their attention to

[1] *E. H.*, iii. 13. Haec ille (Constantinus) cum Latino sermone dixisset quae alius quisquam Graece interpretatus est, deinceps concilii *praesidentibus* sermonem commisit.

other questions of importance. They terminated the first stage of the Paschal controversy by deciding in favour of the Roman custom of celebrating Easter. They endeavoured to heal the Meletian schism by decreeing that Meletius was to continue in possession of his see, but without the right of appointing or ordaining priests; and that those who had been ordained by him were to be admitted into communion with the Church, and to be allowed to continue in the exercise of their different offices; but they were to yield precedence to those ordained by the Bishop of Alexandria. Meletius yielded for the time; but he soon joined the Arians, and his followers became merged in the new sect.

Paschal question and Meletian Schism.

Finally, the Council of Nice passed twenty disciplinary canons for the better government of the Church. By one[1] of these the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch, were declared to possess jurisdiction over the churches in their respective provinces.

Disciplinary canons.

Council of Sardica (343-344).

The next important Council was that of Sardica.[2] It was held for the purpose of inquiring into the charges alleged against Athanasius and other bishops, on account of which they had been deposed from their sees by the Semi-Arian Synod of Antioch (341) and sent into exile. It was convoked, according to Socrates,[3] by the two Emperors, Constans and Constantius; but, according to Baronius,[4] by Pope Julius (337-352). If it was convoked by the Emperors, it was with the sanction and authority of the Pope. There were present one hundred and

Council of Sardica.

Its purpose.

[1] C. 6. [2] At present Sophia. [3] *E. H.*, ii. 20. [4] Ad an. 343.

seventy-six bishops from the East and the West. Hosius, who presided at the Council of Nice, presided also at this.

The Eusebian bishops objected to the admission of Athanasius and the other deposed bishops to the Council, except as accused persons to answer the charges brought against them. Their objection was overruled by the orthodox bishops,[1] who were in the majority. The Eusebians, seeing they had no chance of having their views carried, retired to Philippopolis in Thrace, where they held an opposition Council, under the presidency of the Patriarch of Antioch, and confirmed the decrees of the Synod of Antioch. The fathers of Sardica pronounced Athanasius innocent, and ordered that he should be restored to his see. They renewed their adhesion to the Nicene Creed, and passed a number of disciplinary canons, the most noteworthy of which were the 3rd, 4th, and 5th, recognising the right of appeal from inferior tribunals to the Bishop of Rome.

Athanasius declared innocent.

Right of appeal to Rome.

The Councils of Arles (353) *and Milan* (355).

St. Athanasius was allowed to return to his see in A.D. 349, owing to the interference of Constans with his brother Constantius. But when, on the death of Constans, in 350, Constantius, who was an avowed Arian, became sole ruler of the Roman Empire, he was urged by the Arians to send Athanasius, their most formidable opponent, into exile. He was only too anxious to listen to their request: he wished, however, to proceed with the appearance of legality. By his orders a Council was held at Arles, in A.D. 353, which was presided over by Vincent,[2] Bishop of

Council of Arles.

[1] About one hundred of the bishops present were orthodox.

[2] Most probably the same who, as priest, was one of the presidents at Nice.

Capua, in the name of Pope Liberius (352-366). The fathers, terrified by the threats of the Emperor, consented to the condemnation of St. Athanasius. When the Pope learned what had occurred, he refused to accept their decision. He requested the Emperor to consent to the holding of another Council, in which the charges against Athanasius would be fully and freely investigated. To this Constantius consented, for he felt satisfied that the arts that were successful in the past would be successful in the future.

St. Athanasius condemned.

Milan was named as the place for holding the Council. Here three hundred bishops assembled in 355, most of them being from the West, and only a few from the East. Two Papal Legates presided. The Council was first held in the Church of Milan; but, after a short time, the Emperor ordered the bishops to transfer their sittings to a hall in the imperial palace, thus putting an end to all freedom of debate. He presented an Arian formulary of faith for their acceptance; when some of the bishops objected to it, he declared that his will should be their law, and threatened all who refused to receive it with exile and death. All the bishops, with the exception of Dionysius of Milan, and the two Papal Legates, viz., Eusebius of Vercelli and Lucifer of Cagliari, consented to subscribe to the Arian creed and the condemnation of Athanasius: those who refused were sent into exile. The decrees were forwarded to Rome for approval; but the Pope refused to accept them, because of the violence to which the bishops had been subjected. He was then hurried away by night to Milan, where the Emperor used alternately threats and promises to overcome his opposition; but all his efforts were in vain. The steadfast Pontiff was then sent into exile to Berea in

Council of Milan.

St. Athanasius condemned, and the Arian Creed adopted.

Pope Liberius sent into exile.

Thrace. At the end of two years, he was allowed to return to Rome; according to some,[1] because he consented to accept an Arian formulary of faith; but according to the most probable opinion, because of the disturbances[2] that his banishment had caused at Rome, and the petition presented by the Roman matrons to Constantius for his release from exile.

Objection against Papal Infallibility.

If, as some hold, Liberius subscribed to a creed drawn up by an Arian Council, we maintain that his action supplies no argument against Papal Infallibility. For (*a*) it cannot be shown that the creed which he signed contradicted any article of Catholic faith. Many of the Arian formularies of faith were objectionable; not that they contained any erroneous doctrine, but because of the omission of the word *homoöusion*, which was looked on as the test of Catholic orthodoxy. (*b*) If the creed to which he subscribed was directly opposed to Catholic faith, then we answer, that he did not act in his capacity as *teacher of the universal Church*, but simply as *believer*. And (*c*) Liberius was not free; and every Catholic knows that freedom of action is essential, in order that the Pope should be looked on as infallible in his dogmatic utterances.

Hosius.

Hosius, the aged Bishop of Cordova, also refused to accept the decrees of Milan, and was sent into exile. At the expiration of a year he was so worn out by imprisonment and the tortures to which he had been subjected, that

[1] See *Irish Eccles. Record*, April, 1888.

[2] Such is the cause assigned by Socrates (ii. c. 37), Theodoret (ii. c. 17), and Sulpitius Severus (ii.); they do not say one word about his alleged fall, though they undertake to describe what led to his return from exile.

he consented to receive an Arian creed;[1] but he refused to subscribe to the condemnation of Athanasius. He was then allowed to return to his see, where he died at the advanced age of one hundred years. St. Athanasius says[2] that he protested on his death-bed against the violence to which he had been subjected, and anathematized the Arian heresy.

The Bipartite Council of Rimini and Seleucia (359).

Reason for holding the Bipartite Council.

Towards the end of the reign of Constantius the Arians appeared to be in the ascendant. They had possession of most of the churches in the East, and not a few in the West; they were in favour at court; and their religion was the religion of the State. There was, however, one thing wanting to secure the final triumph of their cause, viz., the approval of an Ecumenical Council. To secure such approval, the Arians now strained all their energies. They resolved, at first, to hold one Council, to which the bishops of the universal Church would be invited; but, on reflection, they deemed it more advisable to hold two Councils, as two would be more manageable than one. Constantius, acting on their advice, summoned the bishops of the East to meet at Seleucia, in Isauria, and those of the West to meet at Rimini, in Italy. A preliminary conference was held by the Arians at Sirmium, to agree to a formulary of faith which was to be presented for the acceptance of the Bipartite Council. An *Homoean* creed was adopted,

Preliminary Conference at Sirmium.

[1] St. Hilary, *De Synodis*, nn. 3, 11, 63; Socrates, *E. H.*, ii. 29, 31; Sozomen, *E. H.*, iv. 6. St. Athanasius simply says (*Hist. Arian.*, c. 45) that Hosius consented to hold communion with Arian bishops; and Sulpitius Severus (*H. S.*, ii., c. 40) speaks of the report of the fall of Hosius as being "strange and incredible." The Spanish historian, Mariana (*Hist. of Spain*, iii. 200) denies the fall of his countryman.

[2] *Hist. Arian.*, c. 45.

which declared the Son to be "like the Father in all things, according to the Scriptures."

The two Councils opened at the appointed places, in the autumn of the year 359. There were present at Seleucia one hundred and fifty bishops, of whom one hundred and five were Semi-Arians; about thirty-five were Homoeans; and twelve, who were from Egypt, defended the Nicene Creed. The Semi-Arians refused to accept anything less than the *Homoiousion* formulary of faith.

Council of Seleucia.

The imperial prefect was obliged to disband the bishops, without agreeing to any creed. Acacius, the leader of the Homoean party, immediately set out for Constantinople, where the Sirmian formulary of faith was approved by the "Home Synod,"[1] and a decree of deposition was issued against the leaders of the Semi-Arians.

Council of Rimini.

There were present at Rimini over four hundred bishops, of whom eighty were Arians; the rest were orthodox. The imperial officer who superintended the proceedings of the Council had orders from Constantius not to allow the fathers to leave the city till they consented to agree to a formulary of faith. The orthodox fathers refused to accept any creed but the Nicene, while the others were equally steadfast in favour of the Sirmian. Each party sent a deputation to the Emperor to say that there was no probability of their agreeing, and asking him to allow the bishops to return to their different dioceses. For the purpose of wearying out the orthodox bishops,[2] Constantius

Representatives of both parties sent to the Emperor.

[1] The "Home Synod" (Σύνοδος Ἐνδημοῦσα) consisted of those bishops who happened to be present at the Court for the time.

[2] Sulpitius Severus says (*E. H.*, ii. 41) that they—they were ten in number—were young inexperienced men, while the deputies of the Arians were remarkable for their ability and cunning.

delayed his answer for several months, and finally prevailed on them to accept the Sirmian creed. When they returned to Rimini, the orthodox bishops refused, at first, to hold any communication with them. But, at length, being worn out by imprisonment, terrified by the threats of Taurus, the imperial prefect, and deceived by Valens, the leader of the Arians, who declared that the "Word was God, begotten of God before all time, and not in the number of creatures," they consented to subscribe to an *Homoean* formulary. It was after this Council that St. Jerome made use of the saying, so often referred to, that "the whole world groaned in astonishment to find itself Arian."

An *Homoean* creed adopted.

No objection can be brought against the infallibility of the Church from the number of bishops who received the Homoean creed on this occasion; for, first, they were not free; and, secondly, the creed to which they subscribed was in itself orthodox, and was heterodox only to heterodox minds. That the bishops understood it in its orthodox sense is clear from the way in which Valens found it necessary to explain it, in order to have it received.

The Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381).

This was the last important Council held in connection with Arianism. It was convoked by Theodosius the Great, who was a zealous Catholic, and received without reserve the Nicene Creed. He issued an imperial edict, in 380, commanding his Christian subjects to embrace the faith of Pope Damasus (366-384), and to profess themselves *Catholic* Christians. The Arians were compelled to vacate the see of Constantinople, which they had held for forty

Council of Constantinople.

years, forbidden to hold meetings in the city, and obliged to hand over their churches to the orthodox Christians.

The Council opened in Constantinople, in 381. There were present one hundred and fifty orthodox and thirty-six Macedonian Bishops, all of whom were from the East. There was no Papal Legate present—a fact which was for a long time urged against its being received as an Ecumenical Council. Its first president was Meletius, Bishop of Antioch.

Held for a fourfold purpose.

It was held for a fourfold purpose, viz.—(*a*) to elect an orthodox Bishop of Constantinople; (*b*) to condemn Arianism; (*c*) to condemn the Macedonian heresy; and (*d*) to pass disciplinary canons.

(*a*) The first subject that occupied the attention of the fathers was the appointment of an orthodox bishop to the see of Constantinople. On the deposition of Demophilus, the last Arian Bishop of that see, Maximus, an Egyptian, who had been formerly a cynic philosopher, succeeded in having himself consecrated Bishop of Constantinople. His consecration was declared irregular, and he was deposed from his usurped dignity. At the suggestion of Theodosius, the choice of a successor fell on Gregory Nazianzen, who had been labouring zealously for the last four years among the Christians of Constantinople. He consented to accept the honour, though much against his will, and was solemnly installed in his new office by Meletius. This was the last official act performed by the saintly Bishop of Antioch, for he immediately afterwards passed to his reward. He was succeeded, as president of the Council, by the newly appointed Bishop of Constantinople. The Bishops of Egypt and Macedonia arrived shortly after Gregory's appointment, and opposed it as irregular, on the ground that he had

Appointment of an orthodox Bishop of Constantinople.

already been in possession of the see of Sasima. St. Gregory gladly availed himself of the opportunity thus afforded of laying aside a responsibility to which he had been always opposed; and, taking leave of the assembled fathers, he departed for the East. He was succeeded by Nectarius, a native of Tarsus. The latter was of senatorial rank, and was favourably known for his learning and piety; though, at the time of his appointment, he had not yet received baptism. He presided [1] at the remaining Sessions of the Council.

Nicene Creed approved.

(*b*) The next subject that came up for consideration was the Arian heresy. All the fathers renewed their adhesion to the Nicene Creed, with the exception of the thirty-six Macedonian bishops, who, on refusing to subscribe to it, were cut off from communion with the Church.

Macedonian heresy condemned.

(*c*) The fathers then proceeded to define the dogma of Catholic faith denied by the Macedonians. The latter were an offshoot of the Arians, and took their name from Macedonius, who became Bishop of Constantinople in 350, but was deposed in 359, because, being a Semi-Arian, he refused to accept a *Homœan* formulary of faith. The Macedonians taught—(1) that the Holy Ghost did not proceed from the Father, but from the Son; and (2) that the Holy Ghost was a creature, having proceeded from a creature. The Council of Constantinople condemned these errors,[2] by

[1] According to Sozomen (vii. 7), Timothy, Patriarch of Alexandria, presided for some time after the departure of Gregory Nazianzen, and Nectarius towards the end of the Council.

[2] The Macedonian heresy had been already condemned by a Synod held at Alexandria (362), again by a Synod held in Illyricum (372), and afterwards by a Roman Synod (375), under Pope Damasus.

defining (1) that the Holy Ghost proceeds from the Father; and (2) that He is God. The definition of the Council is set forth in the following addition which it made to the Nicene Creed, viz. (. . . . et in Spiritum Sanctum) *qui ex Patre procedit, qui cum Patre et Filio simul adoratur et conglorificatur, qui locutus est per prophetas.* The word *Filioque* was afterwards added. From its omission in the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed, it cannot be inferred that the doctrine which it expresses was not known or believed by the fathers of Constantinople, for they merely undertook to define the Catholic doctrine denied by the Macedonians, who admitted the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Son.

Disciplinary canons.

(*d*) There were seven disciplinary canons passed by the Council, the most celebrated of which is the third, assigning precedence to the Patriarch of Constantinople, after the Roman Pontiff, as Constantinople was New Rome.

The acts of the Council were approved by the Pope, with the exception of the third canon. This he refused to accept, for two reasons: first, it interfered with the rights and privileges of the Eastern patriarchs; and, secondly, the reason assigned for the honour conferred on the Bishop of Constantinople might appear to imply that the Primacy of the Roman See was based on the civil importance of the Eternal City.

E.—*Causes of the Downfall of Arianism.*

Divisions among the Arians.

(*a*) The Arians split into a number of sects, which were frequently as much opposed to one another as to the Catholic Church. These divisions were naturally a source of weakness to their cause, and contributed very much to discredit their teaching.

(*b*) Political power, which had been so long the secret of the strength and influence of Arianism, became, after the accession of Theodosius the Great, the most powerful cause of its decline and downfall. Theodosius.

(*c*) A large number of Catholic controversialists appeared during the fourth century, who showed that they had both the power and the will to defend the cause of orthodoxy against error. The Nicene Fathers.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE NICENE FATHERS.

THOSE writers who contributed by their works to place Arianism in its true light, and bring about the final triumph of the Nicene faith, are generally known as the *Nicene Fathers.* Of these the chief were SS. Athanasius, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory Nazianzen, Chrysostom, Hilary, Ambrose, and Jerome.[1]

St. Athanasius.

His early life.

St. Athanasius, whose name will ever remain associated with Arianism, as its ablest and most determined opponent, was born of Christian parents, at Alexandria, about A.D. 296. At an early age, his virtues and talents recommended him to the notice of Alexander, at the time priest, and afterwards Bishop of Alexandria: the latter superintended his education, and made him his constant companion. Under the direction of his saintly preceptor, Athanasius applied himself energetically to the study of every branch of ecclesiastical knowledge, but particularly of the sacred Scriptures and the traditions of the Church. When Alexander became Bishop of Alexandria, in 313, he withdrew to the desert in which St. Anthony lived. Here he spent his time in prayer and penitential exercises, till

[1] We shall give a history of the life of St. Jerome in connection with Pelagianism, with which his name is most prominently associated.

318, when he returned to Alexandria. He was shortly afterwards ordained deacon, and rendered valuable service to Alexander in his controversy with the Meletian schismatics. In 325, he accompanied his bishop to the Council of Nice, in which, though still a deacon, he took a prominent part in exposing the errors of Arianism. Ordained deacon.

On the death of Alexander, five months after the termination of the Council, Athanasius was unanimously elected to fill the vacant see. He was most unwilling to accept the dignity, for he clearly foresaw the difficulties in which it would involve him. The clergy and people were determined to have him as their bishop, and refused to accept any excuse. He at length consented to accept a responsibility that he sought in vain to escape; and was consecrated in A.D. 326, when he was about thirty years of age. Elected Patriarch of Alexandria.

During the forty-eight years of his episcopate, his history is told in the history of the controversies in which he was constantly engaged with the Arians, and of the sufferings he had to endure in defence of the Nicene faith. We have seen that when Arius was allowed to return from exile in 328, Athanasius refused to remove the sentence of excommunication. This aroused the anger of the Arians, and of the Emperor, who had recently taken their side. At the instigation of Eusebius of Nicomedia, the Meletian schismatics made a number of charges to Constantine against Athanasius. The Emperor having instituted an inquiry into their truth, declared him innocent. His enemies, who were resolved on his ruin, were dissatisfied with this decision. They shortly afterwards accused him of sacrilege, immorality, and murder. Constantine ordered him to appear before a Council held at Tyre, in 335. All Opposition to the Arians.

the bishops present were Arians, and. although no charge could be substantiated against him, he was deposed; and the sentence was ratified by Constantine. He was sent into exile to Treves in Gaul, where he arrived early in the year 336.

Exiled to Treves.

Shortly before his death, Constantine ordered him to be released and restored to his see; but this order was not carried out till 338. On his return to Alexandria he was received by his faithful people with the greatest manifestations of admiration and affection.

Second exile.

Fresh charges were brought against him at the Council of Antioch (341). There were ninety bishops present, all Arians: he was again deposed, and sent into exile. He appealed to Pope Julius I. (337-352), by whom he was pronounced innocent. The decision of the Pope was ratified by the Council of Sardica. He was not, however, restored to his see till 349.

Third exile.

When Constantius. an avowed Arian, became sole ruler of the Roman Empire, in 350. the Arians renewed their accusations against Athanasius. He was condemned by the two Councils of Arles (353) and Milan (355). Soldiers were despatched to execute the sentence; but he succeeded in making his escape, and retired to a remote district in Upper Egypt, where he occupied his time (355-360) in writing works in defence of the orthodox faith.

Fourth exile.

On the accession of Julian the Apostate (A.D. 361), who proclaimed toleration for all religions, he was allowed to return to Alexandria: but was shortly afterwards obliged to withdraw to the Theban desert, owing to an attack he made on paganism. Here he remained till the death of Julian (363), when he returned to Alexandria.

Fifth exile.

On the accession of Valens (364), he was again obliged

to flee; he took refuge in the tomb of his father, where he remained three months, till the Emperor, moved by the entreaties of his people, allowed him to return to Alexandria, where he died the death of the just in A.D. 373.

His writings.

St. Athanasius wrote many valuable works, chiefly, as we should expect, of a controversial character. His best-known works are the *Life of St. Anthony*; *Apology against the Arians*; *History of the Arians*; *Apology for the Doctrine of St. Dionysius of Alexandria*; and *On Synods*, in which he gives an account of the Synods of Seleucia and Rimini.

The Athanasian Creed.

The authorship of the *Athanasian Creed*, one of the three Ecumenical Creeds, was for a long time attributed to him. But nearly all modern writers hold that it was not written till after his death, that it was first written in Latin, and that it is of Western origin. The first writer in whose works we find this creed quoted, is Avitus, Bishop of Vienne († 516). Vanantius Fortunatus, Bishop of Poitiers, shortly afterwards wrote (570) a commentary on it. We find it first referred to as the Creed of St. Athanasius in one of the canons of the Council of Autun (676). Its authorship has been attributed to different Latin writers of the fifth century. Those whose claims have the most advocates are St. Hilary[1] of Arles (401-449), and Victricius,[2] Bishop of Rouen († 420). The term *Theotokos*, which became the anti-Nestorian test word of Catholic orthodoxy after the Council of Ephesus (A.D. 431), is not found in it; hence it has been inferred

Not compiled after 431.

[1] Waterland, *Critical History of the Athanasian Creed.*

[2] Harvey, *Hist. and Theol. of Creeds*, 578; Blunt, *Dict. of Doctrinal and Historical Theology*, art "Quicumque."

that it was not written after A.D. 431. And as the Catholic doctrine denied by the Apollinarians[1] is defined in it, it is clear that it had not been written before the Apollinarian heresy, which was condemned by Damasus in 375, became prominent.

St. Basil the Great.

St. Basil, surnamed the Great, to distinguish him from others of the same name, was the most remarkable of the *Three Cappadocian Doctors;* the other two were St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Gregory of Nyssa. He was born, in 329, of wealthy and pious parents, at Caesarea in Cappadocia, and received his early education from his father, who was by profession a teacher of rhetoric. He afterwards went to Constantinople, where he studied under the famous Libanius. His education was completed at Athens, where he had as fellow-students Gregory Nazianzen and Julian the Apostate, and laid the foundation of that close friendship with the former which ever afterwards subsisted between them. During their stay here, they led very strict lives, resisting all the allurements to vice in which the city abounded. We are told that they lived in the same house, and knew only two streets, the one leading to the church, and the other to the schools. St. Basil left Athens in 355, and returned to his native city, where he taught rhetoric for five years.

His education.

In 360, he resolved to embrace the religious state, for

[1] They are so called after Apollinaris († 390), son of an Alexandrian rhetorician of the same name. He became Bishop of Laodicea in 362; and influenced by the doctrine of the Platonic Trichotomy, taught that Christ had an animal but not a rational soul, the place of the latter being supplied by the Verbum.

which he had always shown a special taste; and, in order to become more thoroughly acquainted with the duties of that state, he visited the most celebrated monasteries of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt. He was so much impressed with what he saw among the religious, that he resolved to abandon the world. On his return to Caesarea he distributed his property among the poor, and withdrew to a mountainous district in Pontus, where he founded a monastery for men, close to a convent which had already been founded by his mother and sister. Here he was visited by St. Gregory Nazianzen, who rendered him valuable assistance in drawing up rules for his religious. Becomes a monk.

He was ordained priest in 364, and, in 370, was elected to fill the Metropolitan see of Caesarea, which he governed till his death, in 379. During his episcopate he continued in the practice of those austerities to which he had become so accustomed during his religious retreat in Pontus. He was the most formidable opponent of Arianism, not only in his own province, but throughout the East. Threats and promises were alternately used to overcome his opposition, but without effect. When, on one occasion, he was threatened by the officers of Valens with the confiscation of his property, banishment, and death, he simply replied: "Nothing more? Not one of these things touches me. His property cannot be forfeited, who has none. Banishment I know not, for I am not restricted to one place, and am the guest of God, to whom the whole earth belongs. For martyrdom I am unfit; but death is a benefactor to me, for it sends me all the quicker to God, in whom I live and move."[1] Consecrated bishop.

[1] His principal works are three hundred and sixty-five Epistles, Five Books against Eunomius, and *On the Divinity of the Holy Ghost.*

St. Gregory of Nyssa.

St. Gregory of Nyssa was a younger brother of St. Basil, and was born about 332. He taught rhetoric for some time in his native city; and was married; but getting weary of the world, he retired to a solitude in Pontus, where he spent his time in study and prayer. In 372, he was made Bishop of Nyssa, near Caesarea. He was deposed by the Arians, in 375, and sent into exile by Valens; but was restored to his see by the Emperor Gratian, in 378. He was present at the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (381), where he was honoured as the "Pater Patrum"[1] on account of his great learning. His death occurred about 395. He holds a prominent place among the Greek Fathers, as an exhaustive and lucid exponent of Catholic doctrine. His principal works are his *Hexaemeron*, or *The Work of the Six Days; Catechism of Christian Doctrine; Against Eunomius; Against Apollinaris;* and *On the Soul and the Resurrection.*

Appointed Bishop of Nyssa.

His writings.

St. Gregory Nazianzen.

St. Gregory Nazianzen, one of the most renowned of Greek pulpit orators, was born at Nazianzus, about 329. His father became bishop of that see shortly after his birth. Acting on the advice of his pious mother, Nonna, he resolved to embrace a life of celibacy. He studied first at Caesarea, afterwards at Alexandria, and finally at Athens. He left Athens in his thirtieth year, and returned to Nazianzus, where he was baptized. Having determined to embrace the religious state, he withdrew to Pontus,

His early life.

Embraces the religious state.

[1] This title is said to have been confirmed in the second General Council of Nice.

where he spent some years with his friend, St. Basil, in prayer and study. In 361 he consented, after considerable difficulty, to receive the order of priesthood from his father.

He was consecrated Bishop of Sasima in 372 by St. Basil; but he was so much opposed to the work of the episcopal office, that he never visited his see. He withdrew to the solitude of the desert, for which he had a special taste.

Appointed Bishop of Sasima.

At the request of his father he left his solitude, in 373, to assist in the government of the diocese of Nazianzus. On the death of his father, two years later, he was elected to the vacant bishopric; but he refused to accept it, and retired again to the desert, where he remained till 378, when he went to labour among the orthodox Christians of Constantinople.

He was appointed to the see of Constantinople in 381; but the Egyptian bishops having objected to his appointment, he returned to Nazianzus, where he spent the last days of his life in prayer and study: his death occurred about 390.

Appointed to the See of Constantinople.

Fifty of his sermons have come down to us; of these, five were delivered at Constantinople against the Eunomians and Macedonians.

St. John Chrysostom.[1]

St. John Chrysostom, the most renowned of the early Christian orators, was born at Antioch, about 347. He studied at Constantinople under Libanius, the same who taught St. Basil. Having completed his education he

Studied under Libanius.

[1] *i.e.*, the *Golden-mouthed*, so called because of his eloquence.

began to teach rhetoric, but he soon discovered that he was called to a holier state of life. He retired into a desert solitude, where he spent six years in penance and prayer, at the end of which he was baptized and ordained lector.

When the see of Caesarea became vacant, in 370, the clergy and laity of the diocese were anxious to have him as their bishop; but he fled to avoid the dignity. He wrote his well-known work, *On the Priesthood*, to justify his conduct. He was ordained priest in 386, and commenced his career as preacher.

Appointed to the See of Constantinople.

He continued to labour at Antioch for twelve years. The fame of his piety and eloquence travelled far and wide, and on the death of Nectarius of Constantinople, in 398, he was appointed to the vacant see. He immediately set about retrenching the expenditure of the episcopal palace, correcting abuses that were prevalent among the clergy, and denouncing the vices of his age. Nor did he spare those in high station. His invectives against the licentious conduct of the Empress Eudoxia, caused his banishment from Constantinople, in 403. He was shortly afterwards recalled, owing to the occurrence of an earthquake, which was popularly interpreted as an expression of Divine displeasure. But having renewed his attack on the Empress in more unmeasured terms, he was again banished, in 404. He removed first to Nicaea, and afterwards to the town of Cucusus, in the Taurus Mountains, where he laboured zealously for the conversion of the Persians. The desire of his enemies for revenge was not yet satisfied. A new decree was issued, banishing him to a desolate district on the eastern shore of the Euxine Sea. He was compelled to make the journey to his new place of banishment on

His banishment from Constantinople.

foot, and with his head bare. He died on his way, at Comanum, in Pontus, on the 14th of September, 407. Thirty years later, his remains were brought back to Constantinople by Theodosius II., who publicly besought heaven to pardon the sins of his parents, Arcadius and Eudoxia.

His writings.

The most important of St. Chrysostom's works are his Homilies on the different parts of Sacred Scripture, twelve of which were directed against the Anomoeans. These together with his commentaries, cover almost the whole of the Old and New Testament. He is also the author of two hundred and forty-two letters on doctrinal and moral subjects, the most of which were written during his exile.

St. Hilary[1] *of Poitiers.*

St. Hilary was born about the beginning of the fourth century. He was brought up in the religion of his parents, who were pagans, and was far advanced in years when he embraced the Catholic faith. His example was soon followed by his wife and daughter. While he was yet a layman he was chosen bishop of his native city, in 353, and immediately became an ardent defender of the Nicene faith. His attitude towards the Arians caused him to incur the displeasure of Constantius, by whom he was banished, in 356, to Phrygia. He spent four years in exile, during which time he was present at the Council of Seleucia (359), and wrote his two most important works, viz., *On the Trinity*, in twelve books, to prove the consubstantiality of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and *On Synods*, to show the

His exile.

[1] A second bishop of this name, viz., Hilary of Arles, occupies a prominent place in the history of France during the fifth century (401-449).

His opposition to Arianism.

instability of Arianism, as exhibited in its ever-varying creeds. He was allowed to return to his see in 360, and continued to labour zealously in the cause of orthodoxy till his death, in 367.

The success with which he combated Arianism during his episcopate, has secured for him the title of the "Athanasius of the West."

St. Ambrose.

St. Ambrose, the most powerful opponent of Arianism in Italy, was born about 340, at Treves. His father was Prefect of Gaul, and died while Ambrose was yet a boy. He was educated at Rome for the law, and afterwards practised with much success at Milan. In 369, he was appointed Prefect of Upper Italy, by Valentinian I. (364-375). In the discharge of the duties of his new office he acted with such firmness, and at the same time with such gentleness, that he secured for himself the respect and esteem of all. When the see of Milan became vacant, in 374, by the death of the Arian Bishop Auxentius, Ambrose, though yet a catechumen, was elected both by the Catholics and the Arians as their Bishop. He sought in vain to escape the dignity, and adopted a number of devices to show his unfitness for the position; he fled from Milan by night, but having lost his way, he found himself next morning at the gates of the city. At length he consented, at the express command of the Emperor, to receive the dignity.

Prefect of Italy.

Appointed Bishop of Milan.

St. Ambrose fully realised the responsibility which his new office imposed on him, and resolved to be equal to it. He distributed his property among the poor, entered on a life of extreme austerity, and applied himself with unceasing energy to master the sacred sciences.

He opposed Arianism so successfully, as to make St. Jerome declare that when Ambrose became Bishop of Milan all Italy was converted to the true faith. When the Arian Empress Justina, wife of Valentinian I., ordered him to hand over to the Arians the largest church in the city, he replied: "Palaces belong to the Emperor, churches to the priest of God." Sentence of exile was passed against him, but he refused to leave Milan. The enthusiasm of the people in his favour rendered it impossible for the Empress to carry out her decree. The struggle between St. Ambrose and Justina continued till the death of the latter, in 386.

He combats Arianism.

His firmness with Justina and Theodosius.

He was equally firm in dealing with the Emperor Theodosius. We are told that, on one occasion, the latter was so far carried away by a fit of anger, as to order a tumult in Thessalonica to be punished by an indiscriminate massacre of about seven thousand people. In punishment for this conduct, Ambrose refused to admit him into the Church till he had done full penance. The Emperor consented to accept a penance of eight months, after which he presented himself before St. Ambrose, and obtained absolution from the sentence of excommunication.

St. Ambrose died at Milan, in 397. The hymn, *Te-Deum*, has been attributed to him by many. He was the author of numerous works, the most important of which are his ascetical treatises, *For Virgins* and *On Virginity*.

CHAPTER XVIII.

PELAGIANISM.

Pelagius.

PELAGIUS, the author of this heresy was, according to Prosper († 455), a native of Britain.[1] He was born about the middle of the fourth century, and at an early age embraced the monastic state, though he never took holy orders. Towards the end of the same century he went to Rome. Here he made the acquaintance of a learned advocate named Caelestius, who became his disciple and his able coadjutor in propagating his errors. The disciple is described by St. Augustine as a man of more intellectual daring and acuteness, though of less craft, than his master.

[1] From two obscure passages in the works of St. Jerome, it has been inferred by some that Pelagius was an Irishman. In the introduction to the 1st Book of his Commentaries on Jeremias, he speaks of one who was "made fat with Scotch flummery" (Migne's *Lat. Patrol.*, xxiv. 682). Ireland was then known as Scotia. And in the introduction to the 3rd Book he says: "He (Grannius, a name applied to Rufinus by St. Jerome), though silent himself, barks by the mouth of a corpulent Alban (in some MSS. Alpine) dog, better able to kick than to bite; for he is of Scotch (Irish) descent" (*Lat. Patrol.*, xxiv. 758). It has been alleged that the person referred to by St. Jerome was Pelagius; and that he was, therefore, an Irishman. Against this opinion, the authority of the contemporary writers, Prosper, (*De Ingratis*, 2), Augustine (Ep. 186, *et passim*), Orosius (*Apolog.*), and Marius Mercator (*Commonit.*, c. i., n. 2), is conclusive, all of whom speak of Pelagius as a native of Britain.

Others hold that St. Jerome refers to Caelestius; and that, consequently, the latter was of Irish origin. We have only to say that the passages quoted appear insufficient to establish a connection between Caelestius and Ireland. See Dr. Healy, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, p. 39.

Pelagius occupied his time during his stay at Rome in writing Commentaries on the Epistles of St. Paul. In these Commentaries, especially in that on the Epistle to the Romans, as well as in a letter addressed to Demetrias, to inspire her with a great love of virginity, he gave expression to those heretical opinions that are associated with his name. (*a*) He rejected the doctrine of original sin, and maintained that the sin of our first parents, in eating the forbidden fruit, injured themselves alone, and not their posterity. (*b*) Death is not the result of their sin, but of an independent law of human nature. (*c*) Baptism is not necessary for the blotting out of original sin, as such does not exist. It is, however, necessary for admission into the kingdom of heaven: hence, infants who die without having received baptism, though possessing eternal life, are not admitted to enjoy the Beatific Vision. (*d*) Grace is not necessary that men may work out their salvation, their natural powers being sufficient for that purpose. On this point, however, he appears to have changed his opinion pretty often, influenced either by argument or by external circumstances. At first he denied the necessity of grace in any sense; he afterwards admitted the necessity of *external* grace, such as the law, the good example of Christ, &c.; and finally, many of his followers admitted the necessity of *internal* grace to enable men to perform their good works with *greater ease.* It is generally supposed that these doctrines were formulated by Pelagius with a view to meet the arguments of those Christians who endeavoured to excuse their sinful lives by appealing to the weakness of their fallen nature. But in endeavouring to combat one extreme he went to the opposite by forming too high an estimate of man's natural powers.

His errors.

The necessity of grace.

Pelagius and Caelestius at Carthage.

After the capture of Rome by the Goths, in 410, Pelagius and Caelestius withdrew to Carthage, where they commenced to teach their errors. Caelestius endeavoured to get ordained priest, but being charged with holding heretical opinions on the fall of man and infant baptism, he was summoned before a Council[1] held at Carthage in 412; and being unable to give a satisfactory explanation of the charges brought against him, he was excommunicated. He immediately took his departure from Carthage, where he could no longer stay with safety, and directed his steps towards Ephesus, where he was ordained priest.

Pelagius in Palestine.

Pelagius had left Carthage before the condemnation of his friend and gone to Jerusalem. He was not long in this latter place before the novelty of his teaching on original sin and grace attracted attention. Here he formed the acquaintance of St. Jerome. The latter did not at first realise the dangerous character of his system, but was soon made aware of it by Orosius, a Spanish priest, who had been sent to the East by St. Augustine, ostensibly to prosecute his studies, but really to watch the movements of Pelagius and Caelestius.

Synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis.

A Synod was held at Jerusalem in 415, at which Pelagius was charged with holding heretical opinions on grace. Some of the fathers did not understand Latin, and others did not know Greek, so it was agreed to refer the question for decision to Pope Innocent I. (402-417). There was another Synod of fourteen bishops held the same year, at Diospolis, which acquitted Pelagius of all imputations of heresy. This was the result of the equivocal terms

[1] It was on the occasion of this Council that St. Augustine wrote his treatise, *De Pecc. Mer.. et Rem.*

used by the heresiarch to conceal his real views, and deceive the fathers.

Synods of Carthage and Mileve.

When St. Augustine learned from Orosius what had been done at Diospolis, he brought the question before two Synods (416), one of which was held at Carthage, and the other at Mileve, in which he pointed out the dishonesty of Pelagius and the dangerous character of his teaching. The two Synods condemned the errors of Pelagius and Caelestius. The decrees were sent to Rome for confirmation; and, when the Pope approved them, St. Augustine remarked: "Rome has spoken; the cause is ended."

Caelestius deceives Pope Zosimus.

Caelestius appealed to Rome against the decision of the African Councils, and went thither himself, in 417, to plead his cause before Zosimus (417-418), the successor of Innocent. He made a profession of faith, in which he disowned all doctrines condemned by the Holy See;[1] but he artfully concealed his erroneous opinions on original sin and the necessity of grace. At the same time, the Pope received two letters, one from Pelagius, setting forth his belief in ambiguous terms; and the other, from the Archbishop of Jerusalem, written in favour of Pelagius and Caelestius. Zosimus was deceived by their plausible professions, and wrote in their favour to the bishops of the East and of Africa. He commanded those who charged Pelagius and Caelestius with teaching heretical doctrines to appear at Rome within two months, to substantiate their charges, as otherwise they should be considered orthodox.

Two Councils of Carthage.

When the Pope's letter was received in Africa, two plenary Councils were held at Carthage—one in 417, and the

[1] Augustine, *De Peccato Originali*, 19-24.

other in 418, in both of which the condemnation of the errors of Pelagius was renewed: the latter of these drew up nine canons,[1] which were soon accepted throughout the Church as the orthodox expression of Catholic teaching on the doctrines of original sin and grace. These were forwarded to Rome for confirmation. When Zosimus discovered that he had been deceived by Pelagius and Caelestius, he cited the latter to appear before him again. But Caelestius fled from Rome; whereupon the Pope condemned both himself and his associate, and wrote an encyclical letter[2] to the bishops of Christendom, known as the *Tractoria*, anathematizing their errors. An imperial edict was issued the same year, banishing Pelagius and Caelestius from the Roman Empire, and all who obstinately adhered to their errors. Pelagianism never became wide-spread, like Arianism or Nestorianism. We do not hear of Pelagius after 418, nor of Caelestius after 428, when he appealed to Celestine to have his case re-opened.

Pelagius and Caelestius condemned by Zosimus.

Pelagianism in its old form soon disappeared, to be replaced by a new and less objectionable form of the heresy, known by the name of *Semi-Pelagianism*. According to the latter, men can initiate good works, but cannot accomplish them without the assistance of grace. The new heresy was the outgrowth of the controversies on grace and free-will, to which the writings of St. Augustine had given rise, and of the efforts made to effect a compromise between orthodoxy and Pelagianism.

Semi-Pelagianism.

Its origin.

[1] In some of the oldest copies the ninth canon is omitted.

[2] The teaching of the *Tractoria* was made the basis of the definition of faith drawn up by the Council of Ephesus; only fragments of it have come down to us. Migne's *Lat. Patrol.*, xx. 693, 694.

In writing against the Pelagians, St. Augustine made use of some expressions which, taken by themselves, would appear to attribute such an irresistible power to the operations of grace as to destroy the free-will of man; but, when interpreted by other parts of his writings, were orthodox. The expressions referred to gave rise to a heated controversy among the monks of the monastery of Adrumetum in North Africa, many of whom took special exception to the doctrine laid down in a letter addressed by him to Sixtus, in which he spoke of the predestination of some to life eternal, of the reprobation of others, and of man's inability to do anything towards gaining life eternal without the assistance of grace. "If," said they, "man, without grace, is powerless for good, to what purpose are any endeavours that he may make? and how is it consistent with Divine Justice to punish those to whom He has not vouchsafed that grace?"[1] When St. Augustine heard of the erroneous interpretation put on his words, he wrote two works, viz., *De Gratia et Libero Arbitrio*, and *De Correptione et Gratia*, to repudiate the views attributed to him, and to explain more fully his teaching on grace and free-will.

Cassian.

These works had not the desired effect of stopping the controversy: they rather gave it an additional impetus. John Cassian, a monk of Scythian origin, who was at the time abbot of a monastery in Marseilles, attempted to effect a compromise by introducing a system afterwards known as Semi-Pelagianism. The tenets of this new system are contained in his two works, *Institutiones Coenobiorum*, describing monastic life in the East and in Egypt, and the

[1] Blunt, *Dict. of Theol.*, art. "Semi-Pelagianism."

Collationes or *Conferences* held by him with the monks of Scetis in Egypt. He taught the doctrine of original sin, and the necessity of grace to accomplish, but not to begin, a good work. "As," he says,[1] "it is not sufficient for a sick man to wish to be healed; so a man's good-will is not sufficient, unless God's grace gives strength to perform." Prosper of Aquitaine wrote a letter to St. Augustine, asking him to refute the errors contained in those works. The latter replied by writing two works, viz., *De Praedestinatione Sanctorum*, and *De Bono Perseverantiae*, which he completed shortly before his death. After the death of St. Augustine, Prosper became the defender of his views against the Semi-Pelagians, and wrote his principal work, *Pro Augustino contra Collatorem*, against Cassian. "You imagine," he wrote,[2] "that you have taken every precaution against the false statements of the Pelagians. . . . yet you are neither wholly agreed with heretics, nor with Catholic Christians. . . . You have devised some shapeless *tertium quid*—some condition of your own—whereby you neither make peace with our enemies nor remain loyal to us." Semi-Pelagianism was condemned by the Councils of Orange (529) and Valence (530), the decrees of which were approved by Pope Boniface II. (530-532).

His errors rejected by St. Augustine.

Prosper of Aquitaine.

Semi-Pelagianism condemned.

The chief opponents of Pelagianism were St. Augustine and St. Jerome. We have already treated of the former, in connection with the Donatist heresy: it remains for us to give here a brief sketch of the life of the latter.

St. Jerome.

St. Jerome was born of Christian parents, about 340,[3]

[1] *Coll.*, xiii. 9.

[2] c. 2. Blunt, *Dict. of Theol.*, art. "Semi-Pelagianism."

[3] According to Prosper, he was born in 329; for he says in his *Chronicon*, that he died at the age of 90 years.

at Stridon, on the confines of Dalmatia. Having studied for some time in his native town, he was sent to Rome to complete his education. Towards the end of his stay in the imperial city, he received baptism (about 365). After this he led a very austere life, and soon manifested a decided taste for the ecclesiastical state. Having visited the principal schools of France, he returned to Rome; and after a short stay there he went to Aquileia (370), where he remained nearly two years with his friend Rufinus, in prayer and study. Owing to a difference[1] which sprung up between himself and Rufinus, he left Aquileia, and returned to Rome.

His education and travels.

Having remained here a short time, he set out for Antioch, in 373. He had scarcely arrived at the last-mentioned city, when he was taken ill. This had but the effect of adding to his religious fervour. On his recovery, he retired to the desert of Chalchis (374), in the diocese of Antioch, where he spent his time in retirement, prayer, and the study of the Hebrew language. He returned to Antioch, in 378, and was ordained priest by Paulinus,[2] Bishop of that see. In the following year he went to Constantinople, where he spent three years assisting Gregory Nazianzen in his efforts to spread the Nicene Creed among the people.

He went to Rome, in 381, and became the secretary of Pope Damasus. During his stay here, he acted as spiritual director to a large number of penitents, mostly females.

Becomes secretary to Damasus.

[1] St. Jerome, Ep. i., alias xli. The friendship between them was shortly afterwards renewed, and continued till 395, when Rufinus († 410) who was a monk and a very learned man, translated Origen's work, *On Principles*, omitting those passages which he considered heretical.

[2] There were at the time three claiming the see of Antioch, viz. Paulinus, Meletius, and Vitalis, who was an Apollinarian.

When taunted with spending so much time in delivering lectures to the weaker sex, he replied that if he could get men to listen to him he would let the women take care of themselves. He was specially loud in praise of virginity,[1] and prevailed on many Roman ladies of noble birth to consecrate themselves to God. This drew on him attacks from various quarters; and the opposition against him was much increased by the freedom with which he charged many of the Roman clergy with sloth and the neglect of their duties. He was of an irascible temperament; and the unguarded terms in which he spoke of his opponents, served to increase rather than allay their opposition. The death of Damasus, in 384, deprived him of his best friend and most powerful support at Rome; so he took his departure, in 385, for the Holy Land, and fixed his residence permanently at Bethlehem (387). He was followed thither by some Roman ladies, whose director he had been in Rome. The most prominent of these were Paula, an illustrious matron, and her daughter Eustochium. Paula built four convents at Bethlehem three for women and one for men, over all of which St. Jerome exercised a supervision. Here he remained until his death (420), in prayer, mortification, and the study of the Sacred Scriptures.

Opposition to him at Rome.

Goes to Bethlehem.

St. Jerome combated all the heresies of his time, especially Arianism and Pelagianism. It is, however, his biblical labours that have secured for him the highest claim to the gratitude of posterity. During his stay at

[1] During his stay at Rome he wrote a work against Helvidius, an Arian priest, who maintained that the Blessed Virgin had children after the birth of our Lord. The same doctrine was taught by his disciple Jovinian, who, moreover, maintained that the state of virginity was not superior to that of marriage. These errors were condemned by Pope Siricius in 390.

Rome (381-385), he revised and corrected, at the request of Damasus, the Latin version of the New Testament by comparing it with the Greek; and after settling down at Bethlehem, he corrected most of the Latin version of the Old Testament by comparison with the Septuagint. This version did not, however, satisfy St. Jerome's idea of an accurate Latin version of the Sacred Scriptures. He therefore undertook, about 390, his great work of translating the Old Testament into Latin from the original Hebrew. Many, among others St. Augustine, endeavoured to dissuade him from his undertaking, as they considered it presumption in him to attempt to improve on the Septuagint, which was generally looked on as half inspired. Notwithstanding the obstacles that were thrown in his way, he undertook the great work which was to be his chief occupation during the remaining thirty years of his life. He translated all the Old Testament, with the exception of the Books of Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and the Machabees, the prophecy of Baruch, the epistle of Jeremias, and the deutro-canonical portions of Esther and Daniel.[1] The *Latin Vulgate*, which was declared to be authentic by the Council of Trent, contains St. Jerome's translation of the Old Testament, with the exception of the Psalms, which had been already set to music, and could not, therefore, be conveniently changed, together with the old Italic version of the New Testament, as corrected by St. Jerome. The Italic version is used in those parts of the Old Testament not translated by him.

He corrects the old Italic version of the New Testament.

His translation of the Old Testament from the Hebrew.

The Vulgate.

St. Jerome also translated into Latin the *Chronicon* of Eusebius. "It was the first of those histories of the world

The *Chronicon* of Eusebius.

[1] Dixon, *Intr. to Sacr. Script.*, 108.

compiled by Christian writers to show its providential government by the God of the Patriarchs, the Jews, and the Christians, and the fate which befalls all heathen empires. The work is in two parts—the first containing an outline of universal history from the creation to A.D. 325; the second, an abstract of the facts of history, and the dynasties of the various nations continued in St. Jerome's translation, down to the year 378." [1]

He wrote his work, *De Viris Illustribus*, in 392, containing a catalogue of the distinguished ecclesiastical writers who had flourished up to the time of writing the work.

[1] Smith, *Eccl.* Hist, 312.

CHAPTER XIX.

NESTORIANISM.

NESTORIUS, from whom this heresy derives its name, was a native of Germanica,[1] a city in Northern Syria. He studied at Antioch, where he had as fellow-students John, afterwards Patriarch of Antioch, and Theodoret, afterwards Bishop of Cyrus. Nestorius.

He became a priest of Antioch, and was favourably known both for his austere life and his fluency as a preacher. A dispute having arisen, in 428, about the election of a bishop of Constantinople, he was selected by the Emperor to fill the vacant see. A priest named Anastasius, who accompanied him thither, maintained in one of his Advent sermons, that the Blessed Virgin should be styled *Christotokos* (Mother of Christ), and not *Theotokos* (Mother of God), as she was mother merely of the human, and not of the Divine Person of Christ. As many attacked this doctrine as heretical, Nestorius undertook to defend it in a series of sermons, in which he taught, that as there were two Natures in Christ, so there were two Persons, the Divine and the Human; and that the Blessed Virgin was mother of the human person, but not of the Divine; for, said he, God cannot be born of a mere creature. His doctrine.

[1] Theodoret, iv. c. 12.

Theodore of Mopsuestia the real author of the heresy.

Though the name of Nestorius is associated with the heresy, he was not its author. He learned it from the master under whom he studied at Antioch, viz., Theodore, afterwards Bishop of Mopsuestia in Cilicia (393-428). The latter engaged in a controversy with the Apollinarians, who endeavoured to destroy the humanity of Christ by denying that He has a rational human soul. In his zeal to combat their errors he went to the other extreme by destroying the personal union between the two natures, the Divine and the human. His heretical opinions were soon widely spread by his pupils, and by his writings; but they do not appear to have attracted much public attention till they were proclaimed from the patriarchal chair of Constantinople.

The novel teaching of Nestorius soon excited against him much opposition, especially amongst the clergy and the monks; he was, however, enabled by the protection of the court to continue in his see. The controversy was for a time confined to Constantinople; but it soon extended to other parts of the Christian world.

St. Cyril the chief opponent of Nestorianism.

Nestorianism, as Arianism, found its ablest opponent in the patriarchal chair of Alexandria. Formerly it was St. Athanasius, now it is St. Cyril. The latter wrote a pastoral letter to the priests and people of his diocese, warning them against the errors of Nestorius, and defending the application of the term *Theotokos* to the Blessed Virgin. "As the mother of man," he wrote, "is mother not simply of his body, but of his entire person, notwithstanding that his soul comes from another source, as she gives birth not only to the body of man, but to the whole complete individual, composed essentially of a true union of body and soul; so also is the Blessed Virgin Mary

who although she did not in any sense give birth to the Divinity by which the Word is equal to the Father, truly and really mother of the Word, because the flesh of the Word was formed in her womb, and she brought into the world the Person of the Word, who was clothed with our flesh."

St. Cyril brought the matter under the notice of the Apostolic See, following, as he said, "ancient ecclesiastical custom." St. Celestine, who was Pope at the time, held a Council at Rome (430), in which the errors of Nestorius were condemned, and himself threatened with excommunication and deposition, if he did not retract within ten days. He appointed St. Cyril plenipotentiary in the settlement of the controversy. The latter drew up twelve dogmatic propositions embodying the Catholic doctrine, styled the *twelve anathemas*[1] of St. Cyril, and forwarded them to Nestorius for acceptance. The latter refused to subscribe to them, and drew up twelve *counter anathemas*[2] against St. Cyril. A Council held at Alexandria, at which most of the Egyptian bishops were present, condemned the errors of Nestorius, and approved of the *anathemas* of St. Cyril. To put an end to the controversy, which was daily growing more heated, it was resolved to hold an Ecumenical Council.

Twelve anathemas of St. Cyril.

The Ecumenical Council of Ephesus (431).

The third Ecumenical Council was convoked by Theodosius II. (408-450), in his own name and that of Valentinian III. (423-455), his associate in the empire. It was to meet at Ephesus on the 7th of June, 431; but

Delay in opening the Council.

[1] Mansi, iv. 1067-1078. [2] Mansi, iv. 1099.

it did not open on the day appointed, as John of Antioch, and the bishops of his province had not arrived. The fathers present waited for them for a fortnight. The Council was at length declared opened on the 22nd of June, before their arrival. St. Cyril presided [1] as the representative of the Pope. There were two hundred bishops present, but the number was afterwards increased to two hundred and fifty. They met in the church at Ephesus, where, according to many, the Blessed Virgin had been buried. The fathers immediately addressed themselves to the work for which they came together. They cited Nestorius to appear before them to answer for his teaching; but the latter [2] treated their citation with contempt, and shut himself up in a house where he was guarded by soldiers supplied to him by Candidian, the imperial prefect, who was favourable to his views.

Nestorius refuses to attend.

His errors condemned.

Having examined the teachings of Nestorius, the fathers unanimously declared it heretical, and pronounced the sentence of excommunication and deposition against its author. They wrote to the Emperor to announce their decision; but the letters were intercepted by Candidian. John of Antioch, and his party arrived seven days after

[1] *Acta Synodi.* "Considentibus in sanctissima ecclesia, quae appellatur Maria, religiosissimis et sanctissimis episcopis, Cyrillo Alexandriae, qui et Celestini quoque sanctissimi sacratissimique Romanae ecclesiae archiepiscopi locum obtinebat," &c. The Pope was also represented by three legates, viz., two bishops and a priest.

[2] His heresy had been already condemned by the Holy See. Hence St. Celestine instructed his legates not to allow the fathers to treat it as a free question. "Auctoritatem," he writes, "Sedis Apostolicae custodiri mandamus: siquidem instructiones quae nobis traditae sunt, hoc loquuntur, ut interesse conventui debeatis; ad disceptationem si fuerit ventuum, vos de eorum sententiis judicare debeatis, non subire certamen." Apud *Const. Epist. RR. Pontificum*, i. 1152.

the condemnation of Nestorius. It is supposed his absence was due to a desire not to be present at the condemnation of his friend and former school-fellow. He refused to take part in the deliberations of the orthodox fathers and held an opposition Council of forty-three bishops, which declared the acts of the rival Council invalid, condemned the anathemas of St Cyril, and pronounced sentence of deposition against himself and Memnon, the Archbishop of Ephesus.

A schismatical Council.

The Emperor who had received communications only from the Nestorian party, was naturally inclined in their favour. But when the orthodox bishops heard how their letters had been intercepted, they adopted a clever device to inform the Emperor of the decision of the Council. They gave a letter to a beggar who concealed it in a hollow cane, and thus escaped detection by the soldiers who had been placed by Candidian to watch the roads to Constantinople.

Means adopted to make the decision of the Council known to the Emperor.

On the receipt of this letter, Theodosius ordered the two parties at Ephesus to send representatives to defend their views in his presence. Having heard both sides, he confirmed the deposition of Nestorius, ordered the restoration of St. Cyril and Memnon to their sees, and declared the Council dissolved. Nestorius was at first confined in a monastery near Constantinople; but, after a period of four years, as he still persevered in his heresy, he was banished to Upper Egypt, where he died between 439 and 450. The rupture which his deposition caused between St. Cyril and John of Antioch was healed in 433, by a profession of faith satisfactory to both parties.

Nestorius sent into exile.

The definition by the Council of Ephesus of the Catholic doctrine denied by Nestorius did not put a stop to his heresy. It continued for centuries to be the prevalent

Nestorianism continued after the Council of Ephesus.

form of Christian belief in Assyria and Persia, owing chiefly to the influence of the school of Edessa, which was the great stronghold of the heresy. We are told that in the twelfth century, the Nestorians could number as many as one hundred and fifty bishops; but many of them passed over to the Catholic Church during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. They continue still in the East, their principal seat being the mountain ranges of Kurdistan, where they number about 30,000.[1]

[1] Jungmann, *Dissert.*, ii., 257.

CHAPTER XX.

EUTYCHIANISM.

THIS heresy is variously called Eutychianism, from Eutyches, its reputed author, and Monophysitism, from its teaching about one nature in Christ. As Nestorianism was the result of excessive zeal in combating Apollinarianism, so was Eutychianism the result of a like zeal in combating Nestorianism. Its name and origin.

Eutyches was an aged priest and archimandrite[1] of a monastery near Constantinople, in which he had spent nearly fifty years. He was generally revered for his sanctity, and was spoken of in very favourable terms by St. Cyril of Alexandria, because of his zeal in opposing Nestorianism. But in avoiding one extreme he went to the other. In his efforts to preserve intact the personal union between the two natures of Christ, he made one of them disappear: he taught that the human nature existed in its entirety before its union with the Divinity; but that after the Incarnation there were no longer two natures, but only one, and that the Divine, by which the human nature was absorbed and deified. "As," said he, "a drop of oil let fall into the ocean is quickly absorbed and disappears in the vast expanse; so, also, the human element, being infinitely less than the Divine, is entirely absorbed Eutyches. His errors.

[1] Superior of a monastery.

by the Divine." He would, indeed, admit that Christ was "of two natures," but not "in two natures."

In support of his teaching, Eutyches appealed to the authority of St. Cyril of Alexandria. It is clear from a letter [1] written by the latter to John of Antioch, that he was accused of Monophysite errors, but he took care to disown the erroneous opinions attributed to him by his enemies.

Refuted by Theodoret and Domnus.

Eutychianism began to attract public attention about 445. The first refutation of it appeared about 446, from the pen of Theodoret, Bishop of Cyrus, in a work which he styled the *Beggar*, because Eutyches is represented as borrowing his doctrines from various sources. Domnus, Patriarch of Antioch, also wrote against the new heresy.

Dioscorus.

St. Cyril died in 444, and was succeeded by Dioscorus, who showed by his conduct that he was utterly unworthy of the exalted dignity. He immediately took the side of the Monophysites, actuated principally by a desire to humiliate the Patriarch of Antioch. The latter called the attention of Flavian, Bishop of Constantinople, to the dangerous character of Eutychianism. Flavian held a Synod of thirty-two bishops in 448, which deposed and excommunicated Eutyches, and condemned his heresy.

Dogmatic epistle of Leo the Great.

When Pope Leo the Great (440-461) heard what had been done at Constantinople, he wrote his celebrated dogmatic epistle to Flavian, approving of the acts of the Synod, and explaining the Catholic doctrine about the two natures in Christ. This epistle was afterwards taken as the basis of the definition of faith drawn up by the Council of Chalcedon.

[1] *Coll. Conc. Labbaei*, iii. 1105.

The Latrocinium of Ephesus.

At the instigation of Dioscorus, Theodosius II., Emperor of the East (408-450) convened a Council at Ephesus in 449. This Council is known in history as the *Latrocinium* or *Robber Council* of Ephesus. There were present one hundred and thirty-five bishops, under the presidency of Dioscorus. Leo sent three legates to represent him;[1] but they were not allowed to preside or read the Pope's dogmatic epistle. The proceedings were violent from the beginning to the end, and most unworthy of such an assembly. Flavian, Domnus, Ibas, and other opponents of Eutyches were declared deposed and excommunicated. Flavian was condemned to exile, and was so harshly treated by the Monophysites that he died a few days afterwards on his way to the place of banishment. Almost all the orthodox fathers present were terrified into subscribing to the decrees, which were also ratified by the Emperor Theodosius II. and Valentinian III. (423-455).

Its decrees condemned by Leo.

The deacon Hilary, who afterwards became Pope, was one of the Papal Legates present at the Council. He offered the most determined opposition to the decrees; but his opposition was of no avail; he had even to fly to save his life. He went immediately to Rome, and informed Leo of what had been done at Ephesus, upon which the Pope convened a Synod, and condemned the acts of the Latrocinium. Leo forwarded letters announcing his decision to the Emperor of the East and the Patriarch of Constantinople. The Emperor, however, refused to retract the approval he had given to the decrees of Ephesus. But, fortunately for the cause of orthodoxy, he died in 450, and was succeeded by his brother-in-law,

[1] Jungmann, *Diss. in Hist. Eccl.* ii. 276.

the virtuous Marcian. The new Emperor took the side of the Pope, and Anatolius, Patriarch of Constantinople, though he owed his elevation chiefly to the influence of Dioscorus, followed the example of the Emperor, and petitioned to be received into communion with Rome. His petition was granted after he had consented to receive the dogmatic epistle of Leo. Marcian resolved to convene a General Council to settle the various points of controversy that were agitating the Church. To this resolution Leo gave his approval, and at the same time expressed a desire that the Council should be held in the West: the Emperor, however, refused to comply with the Pope's desire on this latter point.

Marcian.

The Ecumenical Council of Chalcedon (451).

Convocation, Presidents of Council, &c.

The Council was convoked by Marcian, who acted with the consent and authority of the Pope. Nice was at first named as the place for holding the Council; but it was afterwards arranged that it should meet at Chalcedon, on the Asiatic side of the Bosphorous, so that the Emperor might be present to moderate the violence of the Monophysites. It was opened on the 8th of October, in the Church of St. Euphemia, and was presided over by four Papal Legates, viz., two bishops and two priests. Before leaving Rome they received instructions[1] from Leo regarding their duties: they were to assume the presidency of the Council; they were not to allow the doctrine defined

[1] "In his fratribus (scil. legatis)," writes Leo "qui ab Apostolica Sede directi sunt me synodo vestra fraternitas existimet praesidere . . . Unde fratres carrissimi, rejecta penitus audacia disputandi, contra fidem divinitus inspiratam vana errantium infidelitas conquiescat, nec liceat defendi quod non licet credi, cum secundum evangelicas auctoritates, secundum propheticas

in the Pope's dogmatic epistle to be called into doubt; and, finally, they were to permit Dioscorus to appear at the Council as accused, but not as judge.[1]

Number of bishops.

The number of bishops present is variously estimated by different writers at between five hundred and twenty and six hundred and thirty. They were nearly all from the East. The western bishops were prevented from attending by the wars that distracted their respective countries. Africa was overrun by the Vandals, while Italy and France were being laid waste by the Goths, the Huns, and the Franks.

Dioscorus condemned.

The first question that came up for discussion was the conduct of Dioscorus, whose case occupied the attention of the fathers for three Sessions. He was cited to appear before the Council to answer the charges alleged against him, but he refused. He was, as length, declared guilty in the third Session, and deposed, "because," as Lucidus, one of the Papal Legates, stated in excluding him from the Council, "he presumed to hold a Synod without the approbation of the Holy See, a proceeding that *was never lawful and never occurred.*" The sentence of the Council was ratified by the Emperor, and Dioscorus was banished to Gangra, in Paphlagonia, where he died in 454.

Definition of faith.

Having disposed of the case of Dioscorus, the fathers proceeded to define the Catholic doctrine denied by the Eutychians. The dogmatic epistle of Leo was read at the second Session. The bishops present unanimously

voces apostolicamque doctrinam, plenissime ac lucidissime per literas quas ad vestrae memoriae Flavianum episcopum misimus fuerit declaratum quae sit de sacramento Incarnationis D. N. I. Christi pia ac sincera confessio." Labbe, *Coll. Conc.*, iv. 69.

[1] *Ibidem*, 833.

exclaimed: "This is the faith of Peter, this is the faith of the Apostles. . . . Peter has spoken through the mouth of Leo."[1] A definition of faith, based on the teaching of this letter, was drawn up and subscribed in the sixth Session, by the Emperor, the Empress, and all the fathers present. It declared that there are two natures in Christ, "without confusion, division, change, or separation." Theodoret, who had been previously reconciled to the Church by Pope Leo, was declared orthodox, and restored to his see. He was, however, required to anathematize Nestorius and his errors. After some difficulty, Ibas was also declared orthodox, and restored to the see of Edessa.

Theodoret and Ibas.

There were thirty canons[2] passed for the better government of the Church, the most noteworthy of which was the 28th, enacting that Constantinople, the new Rome, and honoured seat of the Empire, should possess equal privileges in ecclesiastical matters with ancient Rome, and should be second in rank. It was passed in the eighteenth Session during the absence of the Papal Legates.

The Council came to a close on the 30th of October. The decrees and canons were forwarded to Rome for confirmation.[3] They were all confirmed by Leo, with the exception of the 28th canon, for the same reasons which influenced Damasus in rejecting a like canon passed by the Ecumenical Council of Constantinople. Marcian

Decrees sent to Rome for confirmation.

[1] "Reverendissimi episcopi clamaverunt; *Haec Patrum fides, haec Apostolorum fides.* . . . *Petrus per Leonem locutus est.*" *Acta Synodi*, Labbe, iv. 835.

[2] There are only twenty-eight canons given in the Latin collection.

[3] Marcian wrote thus to the Pope, asking him to confirm the decrees:—"Propterea dignetur Pietas Tua mittere literas, quibus manifestum fiat ecclesiis omnibus et populis, quae in sacra synodo gesta sunt a Beatitudine Vestra confirmari." Labbe, iv. 837.

approved of the decrees of the Council; and forbade the Eutychians to hold public meetings, to ordain ecclesiastics or to build churches and monasteries, and subjected them to various other disabilities.

Divisions among the Monophysites.

Council of Chalcedon misrepresented.

The Council of Chalcedon condemned the Eutychians and defined the Catholic doctrine which they denied; but it did not stop the spread of their heresy. It became rather the occasion of increasing the evil it was intended to check. This was owing chiefly to the false reports circulated by its opponents, that it was favourable to Nestorianism. The only foundation for the charge was its declaration of the orthodoxy of Theodoret and Ibas, whose writings were afterwards condemned as heretical by the second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople. Its decrees were violently impugned, especially in Palestine and Egypt. Many of its opponents, however, rejected the Eutychian doctrine of the absorption of Christ's humanity by His Divinity, and took their stand on the *oneness* of His nature, which they held to be composite. All who held this view were generally included by the Catholics under the common name of Monophysites. Their distinctive formula was, "God has been crucified;" and this they embodied in their liturgy, as an addition to the Catholic *Trisagion*, thus: "Holy God, Holy Almighty, Holy Immortal, who has been crucified for us, have mercy on us!"[1] It is obvious that the formula referred to can have a Catholic as well as a Monophysite meaning; but it was regarded as heterodox, because of the interpretation put on it by the Monophysites.

Monophysite addition to the *Trisagion*.

[1] Smith's *Student's Eccl. Hist.*, 362.

The controversies to which the Council of Chalcedon gave rise continued to disturb the Eastern Church for an entire century, till they were practically terminated by the second Ecumenical Council of Constantinople (553). The history of these controversies is told in the history of the schisms to which they gave rise, and of the divisions which they caused among the Monophysites themselves.

Schism in Palestine.

The first schism occurred in Palestine, where Theodosius, a Monophysite monk, succeeded, by misrepresenting the Council of Chalcedon, in having Jeremiah, Patriarch of Jerusalem, who received its decrees, deposed from his see, and himself consecrated in his place (457). He retained the usurped dignity for eighteen months; but at the end of this time, being deserted by his adherents, he was compelled to flee, and the deposed patriarch was restored to his see.

Schism in Egypt.

The death of the Emperor Marcian, in 457, deprived the Catholic party in Egypt of the military force necessary to repress the violence of the Monophysites. Timothy Aelurus and Peter Mongus, two Monophysite leaders, placed themselves at the head of an excited mob, and took possession of the church of Alexandria. The former had Proterius, the successor of Dioscorus, murdered in the baptistery attached to the cathedral, and himself consecrated bishop in his place.

Timothy's sway at Alexandria was destined to be brief; for Leo I. (457-474), the successor of Marcian, approved of the acts of his predecessor, and exiled both Timothy and Peter the Fuller, the latter of whom had been raised to the patriarchial chair of Antioch by the Monophysites.

When Basiliscus became emperor (476-477), he rewarded his Monophysite supporters, to whom he owed his elevation

to the purple, by recalling Timothy Aelurus and Peter the Fuller from exile, and restoring them to the sees of Alexandria and Antioch. He also published an edict called the *Encyclicon*, in which he recognised the Councils of Nice, Constantinople, and Ephesus, but rejected that of Chalcedon. It was subscribed by the Monophysite patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, and by five hundred Eastern bishops. He was, however, so terrified by the tumults caused among his subjects by its publication, and by the approach of his victorious rival Zeno, that he withdrew the *Encyclicon*, and published a second edict condemning Eutychianism, and approving of the Council of Chalcedon.

The *Encyclicon.*

Zeno (477-491), by whom Basiliscus was deposed, resolved to leave no means untried to effect a reconciliation between the Catholics and Monophysites. Acting on the advice of Acacius, Bishop of Constantinople, he issued a decree called the *Henoticon*, or *Formula of Concord*,[1] addressed nominally to the Patriarch of Alexandria, but intended for the acceptance of all Christians. In this formulary all controverted points regarding the two natures of Christ were omitted, and the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed was declared to be the only one binding; but, though condemning Nestorianism and Eutychianism, it did not enforce the decrees of Chalcedon.

The *Henoticon.*

This formulary, which was intended to unite, served but to separate still more the Catholics and Monophysites, and to create fresh divisions among the latter. Felix III. (483-492) excommunicated (484) Acacius, as the author of *Henoticon*. The effect of this was to cut off all communication between the Eastern and Western Churches

Schism.

[1] Jungmann, *Dissert.*, ii. 319; Baronius, Ad an. 482.

for a period of thirty-five years. This schism, known in history as the *Acacian*, was healed in 519 by the joint efforts of Pope Hormisdas (514-523) and Justin I. (518-527). A formulary[1] of faith was drawn up by Hormisdas, which was subscribed by 2,500 bishops. This formulary is chiefly noteworthy because of the explicit declaration it contains of the Primacy and Infallibility of the Bishop of Rome. The Emperor published an edict commanding all the bishops of the empire, under penalty of exile, to receive the decrees of Chalcedon, and to celebrate an annual feast in honour of that Council.

Divisions among the Monophysites.

The publication of the *Henoticon* caused additional divisions among the Monophysites, for many of them refused to hold communication with the Monophysite patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople, and formed a distinct sect called the *Acephali*. The Monophysites of Egypt were still further split up about the year 520. The new sects were styled the *Severians* and the *Julianists*; the former received their name from their recognised leader, Severus, Patriarch of Antioch, and maintained the corruptibility of Christ's human nature; the latter were followers of Julius, Bishop of Helicarnassus, and held that Christ's human nature was not subject to human passions, or exposed to the changes

[1] "Prima salus est rectae fidei regulam custodire et a patrum traditione nullatenus deviare, quia non potest D. N. I. Christi praetermitti sententia dicentis: *Tu es Petrus, et super hanc petram aedificabo ecclesiam meam.* Haec quae dicta sunt rerum probantur effectibus, quia in Sede Apostolica immaculata est semper servata religio . . . unde, sicut praediximus, sequentes in omnibus apostolicam Sedem et praedicantes ejus omnia constituta, spero ut in una communione vobiscum quam Sedes Apostolica praedicat esse merear in qua est integra et vera christianae religionis soliditas." Jungmann *Dissert.*, ii. 323.

of our corruptible nature. The *Severians* and *Julianists* soon split up into other sects, differing from one another on various points of detail.

Justinian's efforts to reconcile the Catholics and Monophysites.

Justinian (527-565) made various efforts to reconcile the Monophysites with the Church. Shortly after ascending the imperial throne, he issued an edict commanding all the Eastern bishops to receive the decrees of the four Ecumenical Councils of Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon; hence he has been frequently styled the *Synodite.*

A conference was held (533) by his order, at Constantinople, between five Catholic and six Monophysite bishops to discuss the points in dispute between them. The Monophysite bishops refused to receive the Council of Chalcedon, because it declared Theodoret and Ibas orthodox, whose writings favoured Nestorius, and contained many of his errors. This was the beginning of the controversy on the *Three Chapters.* The conference resulted in the conversion of many Monophysites.

Theodora.

Justinian's efforts towards a reconciliation between the Catholics and Monophysites were, to a great extent, frustrated by his consort Theodora, who was at heart a Monophysite. She succeeded in having Anthimus, a secret enemy of the Council of Chalcedon, raised to the patriarchal see of Constantinople in 535. He retained the see only for a year, as his heresy was exposed by Pope Agapetus I. (535-536), who, being forced to leave Rome by the Gothic King Theodoric, was then staying at Constantinople.

Theodora's failure to have a Monophysite Patriarch of Constantinople did not deter her from trying her hand at a more daring game. She caused (536) Pope Sylverius

to be banished to the island of Palmeria, on a charge of treasonable correspondence with the Goths, who were then besieging Rome. He died of hunger, in his place of exile, in the year 540. Theodora is said to have secured (536) the vacant see for Vigilius, a Roman deacon, then residing at Constantinople, but on condition[1] that he would restore Anthimus to his former dignity, and defend the cause of the Monophysites. Whatever truth there may be in the story of the alleged compact between Theodora and Vigilius, it is certain that after he had become Pope he did not act up to it. He declared that he would strictly adhere to the teaching of the four Ecumenical Councils, and of his predecessors in the See of Rome.

Vigilius.

The fifth Ecumenical Council (553) confirmed the decrees of Chalcedon. After this time the Monophysites formed themselves into a number of independent communities, viz. :—(*a*) the Jacobites of Syria and Mesopotamia, so called from Jacob, their first ecumenical patriarch (541-578); (*b*) the Armenians, or Monophysites of Armenia: and (*c*) the Copts of Egypt and Abyssinia. Large numbers of the Jacobites and Armenians were reconciled to the Church during the fifteenth century.

The Monophysites form independent communities.

[1] For an able defence of Pope Vigilius, see the *Analecta Novissima* of Card. Pitra, 370-467. According to Baronius (Ad an. 540), Vigilius was legitimately re-appointed on the death of Sylverius.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE CHRISTIAN HIERARCHY: ITS ORIGIN AND DEVELOPMENT.

Twofold Hierarchy.

THE Christian Hierarchy is twofold, viz., the Hierarchy of Orders, and the Hierarchy of Jurisdiction. The former was instituted for the service of the altar, and the administration of the sacraments; the latter for the government of the Church. We shall treat of each separately.

A.—*The Hierarchy of Orders.*

Divine institution of the Hierarchy.

The Council of Trent, in treating of the Hierarchy of Orders, defined[1]—*(a)* that it is of divine institution; and *(b)* that this divinely instituted hierarchy consists of Bishops, Priests, and Ministers. Hence, at least, the diaconate is of divine institution. It is disputed whether the subdiaconate and the minor orders are of divine, or of merely ecclesiastical origin.

The episcopate and presbyterate distinct orders.

The presbyterate was instituted by Christ at the Last Supper, when, after offering up the first Sacrifice of the New Law, He said to the Apostles: "Do this in commemoration of Me,"[2] and thus bestowed on them and their successors in the ministry the power of offering up the same sacrifice. The Apostles received from Him, before His ascension, the other powers attached to the Christian priesthood, together with those special to the episcopate. All Catholic writers teach, that the office of bishop was

[1] Sess. 23. [2] St. John, xii. 19.

in its institution distinct from that of priest, and superior to it. It is, however, disputed whether the two offices were represented from the beginning by distinct classes of ecclesiastical functionaries. It appears more probable[1] that such was not the case; but, that for some time during the infancy of the Church, on account of her special requirements, all who were ordained priests received also the power of the episcopate. This would explain why the terms *bishop* ἐπίσκοπος and *presbyter* πρεσβύτερος are so often[2] applied to the same person in the New Testament, and why in some passages[3] there are only two grades of the hierarchy mentioned, viz., bishops or presbyters, and deacons.[4] Neander holds that the two names were often interchanged till late in the second century. The term *presbyter*, as applied to bishops, was more common among Jewish than among Pagan converts. This we can easily understand if we bear in mind that it was a title of honour and superiority among the Jews, and designated the superintendent or director of the synagogue; while among the Gentiles, the term *bishop* was more familiar as a title of distinction. There can be no instance quoted in which the term *bishop* was applied to a mere priest.

The terms bishop and presbyter used in the same sense.

[1] This is the opinion of Petavius (*De Eccl. Hier.*, i. c. 4), Peronne, (*De Ordine*, c. 3), and many others.

[2] Acts, xx. 17-28. Titus, i. 5, 7. 1 Peter, v. 1.

[3] Philip, i. 1. 1 Tim. iii. 1, 8.

[4] The strongest argument against this view is taken from the Acts of the Apostles (xv.), in which there would appear to be a distinction drawn between three grades of the hierarchy, viz., apostles, presbyters and deacons. To this we answer, that there is nothing in this chapter that would show that St. Luke referred to mere priests; for the contrast is not between bishops and presbyters, but between apostles and presbyters. Such a contrast might well have been drawn, though the presbyters referred to were bishops.

With the growth of the Church. it became necessary to separate the two grades of the hierarchy, and relegate the duties of the priesthood to a separate class of ecclesiastics who were to be subject to the bishops. Such a class must have existed at the beginning of the second century, for St. Ignatius of Antioch († 107) draws a clear distinction between bishops, priests, and deacons. "Let each of you," he says,[1] writing to the Christians of Smyrna, "obey his bishop, as Christ did His Father, and priests as the Apostles, and give honour to the deacons as to God's commandments." All the early Christian writers after the time of St. Ignatius, who refer to the matter at all, mention bishops and priests as distinct classes. This is particularly true of Clement of Alexandria,[2] Origen,[3] Tertullian,[4] and Irenaeus,[5] all of whom flourished about the beginning of the third century. St. Ignatius of Antioch.

The authority of St. Jerome has been frequently quoted by Presbyterian writers in favour of their system of Church government. In some parts of his writings he appears to teach that there was originally no distinction between the episcopate and the presbyterate. Thus, in his Commentary on St. Paul's Epistle to Titus (cap. i., v. 5), he says: "The priest was the same as the bishop till, through the instinct of the devil, there grew up in the Church factions, and among the people it began to be professed, *I am of Paul, I of Apollo, and I of Cephas.*" Churches were governed by St. Jerome's opinion.

[1] c. 8. In other epistles of his he draws the same distinction between bishops and priests.

[2] Strom., vi. c. 13.

[3] Hom. xi. in Jerem.

[4] *De Praescr.*, c. 32.

[5] *Contra Haer.*, iii. c. 3.

the common advice of presbyters; but when each one had begun to reckon those he baptised his own, and not Christ's, it was decreed in the whole world that one chosen out of the presbyters should be placed above the rest, to whom all care of the Church should belong; and so all seeds of schism be removed."

Though it be granted, that St. Jerome denied that there was any distinction of divine origin between bishops and priests, we may fairly ask: Is it reasonable to set up his authority on the subject against the teaching of all the other early fathers? But we deny that such was the opinion of St. Jerome; for, in many parts of his works, he draws a clear distinction between bishops and priests. Thus, in his epistle to Fabiola, he speaks of bishops as the successors of the Apostles, and priests as the successors of the seventy-two disciples; while in another of his epistles he teaches the superiority of bishops to priests, in the power possessed by the former of conferring orders.[1] Hence, we must explain the passage quoted from his Commentary on Titus, and others of the same import, so as to make them harmonize with his teaching in other parts of his works, as well as with the teaching of contemporary writers. This we can easily do, if we bear in mind that originally, according to the more probable opinion, there was no distinction between bishops and priests, as all who were ordained priests were also consecrated bishops; and that it was only in course of time that there was a separation effected between these two grades of the hierarchy. St. Jerome states that the cause of the separation was to

[1] "Quid facit excepta ordinatione episcopus, quod presbyter non faciat?" Ep. 146. Migne's *Lat. Patrol.*, xxii. 1194.

guard against schism; but for this statement he appears to have little or no foundation. We must remember that about the time of St. Jerome, many deacons claimed powers and privileges equal to priests. He endeavoured to repress their presumption by extolling the dignity of the priesthood, and thus showing its superiority to the diaconate.

Deacons. Deacons constitute the third grade of the Christian hierarchy of orders. In the Acts of the Apostles[1] we have an account of their institution as a distinct body in the Church. They were appointed, we are told, to distribute the alms among the poor, and to look after the sick. But that they were called to higher and holier duties is clear, not only from the qualifications required in them, viz., that they should be "full of the Holy Ghost and wisdom," but also from the ceremony of the imposition of hands used in their ordination, as well as from the Apostolic functions discharged by the two deacons, Philip and Stephen.

Their duties. Their principal duties, during the early ages of the Church, consisted in assisting the bishop or priest at the oblation of the Mass, instructing the catechumens, collecting the offerings of the faithful, and carrying the Blessed Eucharist to those who were absent: they could lawfully administer the Sacrament of Baptism, when commissioned by the bishop.[2] Many Churches, and among others, Rome, adhering to the Apostolic number, had only seven deacons. In other Churches, however, the number was larger; thus, in the Church of Edessa, there were as many as thirty-eight at the time of the Council of Chalcedon (451).

The deacons had charge of the finances of the different

[1] vi. 1-7.

[2] Tert., *De Bapt.*, c. 17. The Council of Elvira (c. 77) recognised the lawfulness of baptism conferred by deacons.

Their importance.

Churches. This gave them great power and influence among the clergy; and many of them claimed precedence of the priests, and regarded it as a degradation to receive the order of priesthood. Some of them went so far as to lay claim to the power of offering the Holy Sacrifice. Their arrogance was condemned by the Councils of Arles (314), Nice (325), and Carthage (397). St. Jerome wrote against them: "All that is rare," he says,[1] "is eagerly sought after; deacons, because few, are honourable: and priests, because many, are lightly esteemed."[2]

Subdeacons.

We have no account of the institution of subdeacons. Cardinal Bona[3] says that they were instituted by Christ, or His Apostles. We find the first mention of them in the writings of St. Cyprian. He says, in one of his letters,[4] that, during the Decian persecution, he employed a

[1] Ep. cxlvi.

[2] There was a class of religious females in the early Church called deaconesses, whose chief duties consisted in attending the sick, instructing female catechumens in the knowledge of their religion, and assisting at their baptism. The first deaconesses were appointed by the Apostles. St. Paul (Ep. to the Romans, xvi. 1) mentions one named Phebe in Cenchre; and in his First Epistle to Timothy (v. 9, 13) he describes the qualifications requisite in those who should be admitted to the office. They should be either virgins, or widows who had been only once married, and not less than sixty years of age (*Apost. Const.*, vi. 17). The Council of Chalcedon reduced the canonical age from sixty to forty years; for the fifteenth canon says: "Let not a woman receive the imposition of hands as a deaconess before she is forty years old." They continued in the Eastern Church down to the twelfth century. In the Western Church their appointment was forbidden by several Councils during the fourth and fifth centuries, as by those of Nismes (394) and Orange (441). Still, according to Cardinal Bona (*Rer. Lit.*, i. 25), there were some to be found here as late as the tenth century.

[3] *Rer. Liturg.*, i. 25. "Subdiacanorum licet expressa mentio in sacris litteris non reperiatur, eorum tamen institutio vel ad Christum, ut recentiores scholastici existimant, vel ad Apostolos referenda est."

[4] Ep. 24, alias, 29.

subdeacon to keep up communication with his Church. And Pope Cornelius (251-252), in a letter[1] to the Bishop of Antioch, says that there were seven subdeacons in the Church of Rome. Originally, their chief duties were to take care of the sacred vessels, to guard the church during religious service, and to assist the deacons in their secular duties, and during the oblation of the Mass. In the Latin Church, the subdiaconate was not regarded as one of the higher or holy orders, till about the twelfth century:[2] it is still regarded as one of the minor orders in the Greek Church. It is conferred in the latter by the imposition of hands; in the former, by handing an empty chalice and paten to the person to be ordained, with the prescribed form of ordination. The same difference of practice existed from the earliest time; for while the *Apostolic Constitutions*,[3] which are of Eastern origin, speak of St. Thomas the Apostle ordering subdeacons to be ordained with the imposition of hands and prayer, the fourth Council of Carthage (398) lays down, that they are to be ordained, not with imposition of hands, but with an empty paten and an empty chalice.

Their ordination.

There are four Minor Orders in the Church, viz., those of Acolyte, Exorcist, Lector, and Porter. We find the first mention of them in the letter of Pope Cornelius, already referred to: he says, that in his time, there were in Rome forty-six priests, seven deacons, as many subdeacons, forty-two acolytes, and fifty-two porters, exorcists, and readers. These orders are referred to by him as already well known

The four minor orders.

[1] Euseb., *E. H.*, vi. 43.

[2] Martene, ii. 2. Durandus, writing about the end of the thirteenth century, says of the subdiaconate: "Sacer hodie secundum Innocentum tertium reputatur." *Rat. Div. Off.*, ii. 8

[3] viii. 21.

in the Church: hence their institution is generally referred to the Apostles. The business of the Acolytes was to light the candles in the church, to assist at the administration of the sacraments, and to supply wine and water to the celebrant during Mass.[1] The Exorcists had charge of the energumens, or such as were possessed of evil spirits, and received at their ordination the power to expel these spirits from the bodies of the faithful. The use of the power was afterwards confined to the priests. The Lectors read aloud in the church different portions of Sacred Scripture for the edification of the faithful, and guarded the books used in the public functions of religion. The Porters had charge of the keys of the church, which they opened to the faithful and shut against unbelievers, and guarded the approach to the altar during the celebration of the Holy Sacrifice.[2]

B.—*The Christian Hierarchy of Jurisdiction.*

The Hierarchy of Jurisdiction is the governing body in the Church, distributed according to its several gradations. Some of these gradations are of divine, but most of them of ecclesiastical origin. In the early ages of the Church, the principal grades of the Hierarchy of Jurisdiction were those of—(*a*) Pope; (*b*) Metropolitan and Patriarch; (*c*) Bishop and Chorepiscopus: and (*d*) Archdeacon.

[1] Fourth Council of Carthage, c. vi.

[2] *Tonsure* is not an order, but an ecclesiastical ceremony by which persons are dedicated to the public service of the Church. Some writers hold that it is of Apostolic origin. But whether their assertion be true or not, all agree that it is a ceremony of great antiquity; for Paulinus of Nola, writing about the end of the fourth century, says that it was then in use among the monks of the West. There were many varieties of Tonsure, the chief being the Roman, which consisted in shaving the crown of the head; the Celtic, in which the front part of the head was shaved from ear to ear; and the Greek, in which the entire head was shaved.

(*a*) The Primacy of the Bishop of Rome was recognised from the very earliest time. That this is true of St. Peter, is clear, not only from those passages quoted from Sacred Scripture by Catholic divines to show that Christ bestowed on him jurisdiction over the whole Church, but also from many other incidents in his life to which we have already referred. Primacy of the Bishop of Rome during first three centuries.

That St. Peter's successors in the See of Rome were recognised as his successors in the Primacy, can be easily shown, both from the opinions of early Christian writers and from the history of their relations to the universal Church.

First. St. Ignatius of Antioch, an Apostolic father, calls Rome, by way of pre-eminence, the *fostering mistress* of charity.[1] Tertullian styles the Bishop of Rome the *Bishop of bishops.*[2] St. Irenaeus lays down the doctrine of Papal Supremacy very clearly, when he says:[3]—"It is necessary that the whole Church, *i.e.*, the faithful of the whole world, should be in communion with this Church (the Roman Church), on account of its more powerful authority; in which communion the faithful of the whole world have preserved the tradition that was delivered by the Apostles. When, therefore, you know the faith of this Church you have also learned the faith of the others." And St. Cyprian teaches the same doctrine in his work, *On the Unity of the Church*, in which, as already mentioned, he declares that the Primacy of the Bishop of Rome is the basis of Catholic unity. Teaching of the fathers.

[1] *Ep. ad Romanos.*

[2] *De Poenitentia*, c. 4.

[3] *Contra Haer.*, iii. 3. *Vide* Doll., *Hist. of Church*, Eng. ed., vol. i., p. 256, note.

The Primacy proved from other arguments.

Secondly. The Popes, by their actions on various occasions, laid claim to jurisdiction over the whole Church; while Christians, on the other hand, showed by their submission that they recognised the power claimed by the Holy See. We cannot expect to find many instances of the exercise of Papal authority during the first three centuries, as intercourse between Rome and the different parts of the Church was generally difficult, and sometimes even impossible. We have, however, sufficient instances to prove that the doctrine of Papal Supremacy was recognised.

(1) Towards the close of the first century, some priests who had been deposed by the Corinthians, appealed to Pope Clement. He wrote a letter to the Corinthians, exhorting them to reinstate the priests, and sent legates who were empowered to effect a reconciliation between them. This appeal to the Bishop of Rome is of itself a sufficient proof that they who made it admitted his power to take cognizance of their case; while Clement, in his letter[1] to the Corinthians, was equally explicit in defending the rights of the Holy See; "I should be guilty," he writes, "of a grievous offence, if, for the sake of pleasing you, I were to depose priests of blameless lives and faithful ministry." There were many other cases of appeal to the Bishops of Rome from different parts of the Church during the first three centuries. Thus, in the case of the re-baptism controversy, the decrees of the Council of Carthage were sent to Rome for confirmation. St. Cyprian appealed to[2] Pope Stephen, to order the Bishops of Gaul to depose Marcian, Bishop of Arles, who had recently joined the

(1) Appeals to Holy See.

[1] *Epist. ad Cor.*, c. 44.

[2] "Dirigantur in provinciam et ad plebem Arelate consistentem a te litterae quibus abstento Marciano alius in locum ejus substituatur." Ep. 67.

Novatianists; and he wrote to Rome, on another occasion, regarding Basilides, one of the two deposed Spanish bishops who had apostatized during the Decian persecution, and entreated the Pope, to whom he had appealed, not to restore him; thereby implying the former had the power to do so, if he wished to exercise it. And even the Montanists appealed to Pope Victor, asking to be restored to ecclesiastical communion.

(2) Paschal question.

(2) The history of the first phase of the Paschal controversy proves conclusively that Papal Supremacy was recognised during the second century. After various efforts had been made by the Popes to induce the Christians of Asia Minor to abandon their quarto-deciman observances, Victor (192-201) at length threatened them with excommunication, unless they conformed to the Roman custom. Nor was his right to do so questioned by Christians at the time. On the contrary, it was fully recognised; for St. Irenaeus wrote, beseeching him not to cut off so many from ecclesiastical communion, thereby implying that he possessed the power, which he was asked not to exercise.

(3) Condemnation of heretics.

(3) During the first three centuries, the Popes condemned heretics, and excluded them from ecclesiastical communion. Thus, Victor excommunicated the Montanists; and Callistus (218-223), Sabellius; Cornelius (251-252) condemned the Novatianists; and Stephen (253-257), those who defended the re-baptism of heretics.

The Primacy during the fourth and fifth centuries.

Thirdly. That the Primacy of the Bishops of Rome was admitted during the fourth and fifth centuries, is sufficiently obvious from the frequent appeals [1] made to them

[1] The right of appeal to Rome was solemnly ratified by the great Council of Sardica (343-344). The Council does not speak of this right of appeal as a new right introduced, but as an old one confirmed.

from different parts of the Church; from their restoring deposed bishops to their sees; and, finally, from their presiding, either personally or through their representatives, at the principal Councils held during that time.

Fourthly. Anti-Catholic writers freely admit that Papal Supremacy was admitted throughout the Church during the sixth century. This is a great historical fact for which we must find an explanation, and assign a proportionate cause. Catholics assign such a cause in the Divine institution of Primacy. Protestant writers, on the other hand, assign a number of causes, the chief being the pride and ambition of successive Popes, and the political importance of Rome. The insufficiency of these causes will be apparent to anyone who considers the extent of Papal jurisdiction, and the practical consequences of its recognition. It extended to all Christians without exception, and embraced many nations with conflicting interests. It is inconceivable that the Christians of every country should unite, and nations forget their rivalry to submit to one who had no other claim to their obedience than ambition and the political importance of the city in which he lived; particularly, as the power claimed by the Popes was so often exercised in enforcing Church discipline, by punishing refractory Christians, and deposing unworthy ecclesiastics. History is sufficiently out-spoken on the unwillingness of Christians in general, and of ecclesiastics in particular, to recognise new rights in foreign bishops, even when these rights come from legitimate authority, to make one sceptical about the sufficiency of the reason assigned by Protestants to explain Papal Supremacy.

Argument from Prescription.

(*b*) The term *Metropolitan*, used in its derivative sense,

signifies something belonging to the metropolis, or mother city of a province; in its canonical sense, it denotes the bishop of that city. We find it used for the first time as an ecclesiastical term by the Council of Nice, which, while confirming the general authority of Metropolitans over their suffragan bishops, makes special mention of their right to sanction the election of the latter. The office of Metropolitan was not instituted by this Council: it dates most probably from the time of the Apostles; for the Council of Antioch (341) declares [1] that the Metropolitan had charge of the whole province, and that bishops should do nothing contrary to his authority, "according to the ancient rule handed down by our forefathers." There is no mention in history of the time when the "ancient rule" referred to was introduced. Hence its origin is rightly referred to the Apostles.[2] The chief duties of Metropolitans were to preside at provincial councils, to confirm the election of bishops, and to receive appeals from the bishops of their provinces.

Metropolitans: their origin.

The four oldest metropolitan sees were those of Rome, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria. After the destruction of Jerusalem (70) Caesarea became the metropolitan see of Palestine. The metropolitan rights of Jerusalem were restored to it by the Council of Nice, but as subject to the see of Antioch; for the Council [3] sanctioned the division of

The oldest metropolitan sees.

[1] Can. 9.

[2] According to the generally received principle of St. Augustine, who says: "Quod enim universa tenet Ecclesia, nec conciliis institutum sed semper custoditum invenitur, nonnisi ab Apostolis traditum rectissime creditur."

[3] Can. 6. From this it is concluded by anti-papal writers that, according to the fathers of Nice, the Bishop of Rome had no authority in the ecclesiastical provinces of Alexandria and Antioch. We admit that as Metropolitan of the Western Church he had not; but maintain, that as head of the Universal Church he had.

the whole Church between the Metropolitans of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. Antioch, at first, ranked before Alexandria; but, after the Council of Nice, the latter took precedence.

Patriarchs.

With the growth of the Church, other metropolitan[1] sees were established, subject, however, to one or other of the four mentioned. Before the end of the fourth century, the metropolitan system was fully developed, both in the East and in the West. It was soon found convenient to distinguish the metropolitan sees of Apostolic from those of later origin. For this purpose the title of patriarch,[2] which was at first common to all bishops, was by degrees restricted to the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. It was used in this restricted sense by the Council of Chalcedon (451), by which it was applied, not only to the Bishops of Rome, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, but also to the Bishop of Constantinople.[3] Pope Leo I. refused to recognise the application of the title to the last mentioned; nor was it recognised in the Western Church till the fourth Lateran Council (1215).[4]

Bishops.

Bishops are the successors of the Apostles, with, however, this difference, that the jurisdiction of the former is confined to their dioceses, while that of the latter was not so

[1] Metropolitans were sometimes called Exarchs, and oftener Archbishops. There is, however, a difference between Metropolitans and Archbishops: the former must have suffragans; the latter have none.

[2] Socrates, who flourished about the middle of the fifth century, appears to be the earliest writer who uses the title in its modern sense. Rob., B. iii., cap. 4. Gies (Eng. ed.), i. 427.

[3] The see of Byzantium was originally subject to the Metropolitan of Heraclea. Shortly after it had become the capital of the empire, it was raised to the dignity of a metropolitan see; and the second General Council (381), c. 3, gave the Bishop of Constantinople rank after the Bishop of Rome. This canon was not received in the Western Church.

[4] According to Jungmann (vol. iii., 412), the title was sanctioned by Holy See, in approving the acts of the eighth Ecumenical Council (869).

restricted. The Council of Trent[1] defined that they are superior to priests.

Dioceses.

The Apostles, who were the first bishops, had no special dioceses, as their mission was to "all nations." But they limited the jurisdiction of the bishops whom they appointed within districts, which were at first more or less defined, according to circumstances. These districts were known as dioceses, and comprised the city in which the parent church existed and the country for some distance about it. Thus St. Paul left his disciple Titus in Crete, and the latter was empowered to appoint bishops wherever they might be needed within the limits of the island. With the spread of Christianity dioceses became by degrees better defined, till towards the end of the second century, when their limits were pretty accurately fixed in many countries of the East and West.[2]

Mode of appointing Bishops.

During the first three centuries the laity had a voice in the election of bishops. The mode of election, however, varied in different churches: in some, the laity in the first instance selected the candidate for the vacant office, who was then submitted for the approval of the clergy; in others, the candidate was first selected by the clergy, and afterwards approved by the people; and in others again, the election took place in a joint assembly of the clergy and laity.[3] The Council of Nice[4] required for the election of

[1] Sess. 23, can. 7.

[2] Doll., *Hist. of Church* (Eng. ed.), i. 226.

[3] St. Clement of Rome says (Ep. ad Cor., c. 44), that bishops should be chosen by authorised persons—viz., the clergy—with the approval of the whole Christian community ("comprobante universa ecclesia"). St. Cyprian writes (68th Ep.): "Elligatur episcopus praesente plebe." And the same father, speaking of the election of Pope Cornelius, says (Ep. 48): "Factus est Cornelius episcopus de Dei et Christi ejus judicio, de clericorum fere omnium testimonio, de plebis quae tunc adfuit suffragio, et de sacerdotum antiquorum et bonorum virorum collegio."

[4] Can. 4.

a bishop the approval of the Metropolitan, and of the other bishops of the province. When Christians had lost their first fervour, and had shown that they were actuated more by worldly considerations than the good of the Church in the appointment of bishops, the privilege of participating in episcopal elections was gradually withdrawn from the laity. Thus, the Councils of Sardica [1] and Laodicea [2] forbade them to take any part in the election of bishops. Notwithstanding these prohibitions, the laity continued to exercise a control over episcopal elections for centuries afterwards. We find, for example, that the laity of Rome took part in Papal elections down to 1050; and that, during the Middle Ages, the emperors frequently nominated to episcopal sees without reference to the clergy. When the practice of ecclesiastical investiture had become common throughout Europe, towards the end of the ninth century, the appointment of bishops passed into the hands of lay lords, who continued to exercise their usurped power for over two centuries, to the great detriment of the Church. And even still, in most Catholic countries, the State has an indirect control over the appointment of bishops. At the consecration of a new bishop, the presence of three bishops was prescribed; the Council of Arles [3] required the presence of seven, or at least, three; while the first of the Apostolic canons says: "Let a bishop be consecrated by two or three bishops."

Parishes.

As Christianity spread from the cities into the country, it became necessary to appoint priests to take charge of the rural districts. In this way parishes were formed which were subject to the bishop of the cathedral city. The right of appointing to the different offices in the

[1] Can. 2. [2] Can. 13. [3] Can. 20.

diocese was vested in the hands of the bishop. In the ordination of clerics, it was customary to ask the opinion both of the presbytery and of the laity about their character and fitness.[1]

Chorepiscopi.

There was a class of ecclesiastical dignitaries in the early Church known as *Chorepiscopi*, who assisted the bishops in the administration of their dioceses, and exercised, as their name indicates, a supervision over the country parishes. They were first introduced into the Eastern Church, where we find them referred to in the canons of the Council of Ancyra (314); they were not introduced into the Western Church till a much later period. We find them mentioned here for the first time at the Council of Riez (439) in Gaul. The Council of Sardica[2] forbade the appointment of bishops in villages and small towns, lest they should become a "shame and a disgrace to the name and authority of bishop." The prohibition of Sardica was repeated by the Council of Laodicea.[3] It is most likely, that before this time, the Chorepiscopi were in bishop's orders, though subject to the ordinary of the diocese. Afterwards they were, for the most part, simply priests, with extensive jurisdiction over the rural clergy. Hence, the Council of Seville (619) declared that the Chorepiscopi were in all things like to priests.[4] They were, however, empowered to confer minor orders. The second Council of Nice[5] speaks of their ordaining lectors, with the permission of the bishop; for their own ordination the presence of one bishop was deemed sufficient. They continued down to the eighth

Their appointment forbidden.

[1] St. Cyprian, Ep. 33. "In ordinationibus clericorum, fratres carissimi, solemus vos ante consulere, et mores et merita singulorum communi concilio ponderare." Doll., i. 244.

[2] Can. 6. [3] Can. 57. [4] Doll., ii., 258. [5] Can. 14.

century, in the East; and still later in the West, for they are referred to in the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, and by a Synod held at Paris, in 849, which issued a decree abolishing the order in France.

Archdeacons.

The Archdeacon, or chief of the deacons, was appointed by the bishop, and took the chief part in the administration of the temporal affairs of the diocese. It is not known when the office was introduced. It is supposed,[1] that Laurence, who suffered martyrdom during the Valerian persecution, was Archdeacon of Rome. We find the title first applied[2] to Caecilian, who was Archdeacon under Mensurius, Bishop of Carthage, and became his successor in that see (311). The position of archdeacon was considered next in importance to that of bishop; he frequently represented the latter at councils, administered the diocese after his death, and was very often appointed to fill the vacant see. So great was his power, that to be ordained priest would be considered by him a degradation. Thus we find Anatolius, Archbishop of Constantinople, severely reproved by Leo I. for having ordained the Archdeacon Aetius priest, in order to destroy his influence and authority in the diocese.

Their duties.

Archdeacons during the eighth and ninth centuries.

During the eighth and ninth centuries, the office of archdeacon underwent some important changes. In the early ages of the Church there had been but one archdeacon in each diocese; but now, the more extensive dioceses were divided into several archdeaconries, with a view to the more strict supervision of the clergy. The custom of appointing priests to the office began to be

[1] Blunt, *Dict. of Doctrinal and Hist. Theol.*, art. "Archdeacon."
[2] Bing., ii. 21, § 11.

introduced about the beginning of the ninth century. Hincmar of Rheims tells us that his two archdeacons were priests. There were, however, archdeacons to be found who were only in deacon's orders, down to the twelfth century. The office was so lucrative that laymen sometimes attempted to usurp it, an abuse which was condemned by a capitulary [1] issued in 805, and by many canons of later date.

Originally, archdeacons acknowledged that bishops were the source of their jurisdiction; but, by degrees, they began to claim independent powers. Hence, we find, that during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, they sometimes excommunicated persons, and laid whole districts under interdict. This arrogance of theirs was checked by various councils held during the thirteenth century. In the first place, a new set of ecclesiastical functionaries were created, styled *Episcopal Officials* or *Penitentiaries*, to whom were transferred many of the higher duties previously attached to the office of archdeacon. The employment of penitentiaries was solemnly sanctioned by the fourth Council of Lateran (1215). Secondly, the relations of archdeacons to the bishops were more clearly defined; for instance, the Council of Laval, in 1254, forbade them to take cognizance of matrimonial causes, or simony, or anything concerning the deposition or degradation of an ecclesiastic, without a special warrant from their bishop.[2]

Their powers limited in the thirteenth century.

[1] Cap. 15, Pertz, Leges, i. 132.

[2] There was another ecclesiastical functionary in the early Church that resembled very closely the archdeacon, viz., the archpriest. The term appears to have been first used by St. Jerome, and was applied to the chief among the priests, who took charge of the diocese in spiritual matters during the absence of the bishop. His position was by no means so influential as that of archdeacon.

CHAPTER XXII.

CLERICAL CELIBACY.

Clerical celibacy not enforced by the divine or natural law

CLERICAL celibacy is not enforced by any precept of the divine or of the natural law; it is, however, enforced by ecclesiastical legislation. It is disputed whether this legislation is of Apostolic or of later origin. The more probable opinion appears to be, that, for the first two or three centuries, there was no special law on the subject. The example of our Lord and His Virgin Mother, the praise bestowed on celibacy in the New Testament, and its special suitableness in the priesthood, were sufficient to secure its observance by the clergy during the early ages of the Church. When, however, Christians began to fall away from their first fervour, and the mere suitableness of clerical celibacy failed to secure its observance, it became necessary to have recourse to legislation to enforce it.

The observance of clerical celibacy of Apostolic origin.

But, whatever may be said about the Apostolic origin, of the *law* of clerical celibacy, it is certain that it was observed from the very earliest times by bishops, priests, and deacons. According to Origen,[1] "he alone should approach to offer the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass who has taken the vow of chastity." St. Jerome appeals[2] in

[1] "Illius est solius offerre sacrificium indesinens qui indesinenter et perpetuo se voverit castitati."

[2] "Quid facient Orientis Ecclesiae, quid Aegypti et Sedis Apostolicæ, quae aut virgines clericos recipiunt, aut continentes, aut, si uxores, habuerint, mariti esse desinunt." *Adversus Vigilantium*, cap. i.

favour of the observance of clerical celibacy to the practice of the Churches of the East, of Egypt, and of Rome. And St. Epiphanius (303-403) asserts [1] that "unless a married man promises to abstain from the society of his wife, he cannot be admitted to the order of subdeacon, deacon, priest, or bishop;" and he adds, that "this is the custom wherever the laws of the Church are observed." From this it would appear, that married men were sometimes promoted to orders; but in such cases they were obliged to lead lives of celibacy. "I do not deny," says St. Jerome,[2] "that married men are sometimes raised to the priesthood, because there are not as many single persons as are required." According to SS. Epiphanius [3] and Ambrose,[4] clerical celibacy was not observed in some remote places, where the canons of the Church were violated; and Socrates states [5] that there were some places in the East in which priests, and even bishops, did not observe celibacy. But, according to the concurrent testimony of all early writers, these cases were departures from the traditional usage of the Church.

Clerical celibacy enforced by various Councils.

Clerical celibacy was enforced by various Councils held during the fourth century. Thus the Councils of Elvira [6] and Arles [7] required bishops, priests, and deacons to observe

[1] *Adv. Haer.*, lix. c. 4.

[2] *Contra Haer.*, L. ix.

[3] *Adv. Haer. Contra Catharos.*

[4] *De Officiis Ministri*, c. 50.

[5] *E. H.*, v. c. 22.

[6] "Placuit in totum prohibere episcopis, presbyteris et diaconis, vel omnibus clericis positis in ministerio abstinere se a conjugibus suis et non generare filios; quicumque vero fecerit, ab honore clericatus exterminetur." c. 33.

[7] "Suademus fratribus ut sacerdotes et levitae cum uxoribus suis non coeant, quia ministerio quotidiano occupantur. Quicumque vero contra hanc constitutionem fecerit, a clericatus honore deponatur." Can. 6.

celibacy after their ordination. The Council of Neo-Cæsarea [1] (about 314) forbade priests to marry; while the Council of Ancyra [2] (314) allowed deacons to marry, if they declared before their ordination, their intention not to lead lives of celibacy. According to Socrates [3] and Sozomen [4] it was proposed at the Council of Nice (325) to pass a law requiring bishops, priests, and deacons, to live separate from their wives; but at the request of Paphnutius, an Egyptian bishop, who was himself an unmarried man of unblemished character, and a confessor for the faith, the fathers abstained from passing any special legislation on the subject. Many writers, *v.g.*, Stilting [5] and Baronius,[6] reject this story, chiefly on the ground that it is not mentioned either by Theodoret or Rufinus, both of whom refer to Paphnutius, or by any writer before the time of Socrates. But whatever may be said about the truth of the story, it appears certain, that the Nicene fathers considered celibacy to be the general rule among the clergy; for they enacted a canon,[7] forbidding ecclesiastics to have in their houses any female that might excite suspicion about their morality. Among those who would not be likely to give

Council of Nice.

[1] Presbyter si uxorem duxerit, ab ordine suo illum deponi debere," c. 1.

[2] "Diaconi quicumque ordinantur, si in ipsa ordinatione ordinati protestati sunt et dixerunt velle se conjugio copulari quia sic manere non possunt; hi si postmodum uxores duxerint in ministerio maneant, propterea quod eis licentiam episcopus dederit." Can. 6.

[3] *E. H.*, i. c. 8.

[4] *E. H.*, i. c. 23.

[5] *Acta Sanct.*, Sept. 11, p. 786.

[6] Ad an. 325.

[7] "Interdixit per omnia magna sancta synodus non episcopo, non presbytero, non diacono, nec alicui omnino qui in clero est, licere subintroductam habere mulierem, nisi forte aut matrem, aut sororem, aut amitam, vel eas tantum personas quae suspicionem effugiunt." Can. 3.

rise to such suspicion, are mentioned their mothers, sisters, and other relatives; but there is no mention of their wives. The absence of such mention is only intelligible on the hypothesis that clerical celibacy was at the time generally observed and enforced in the Church.

Siricius on celibacy.

Pope Siricius, in his letter[1] to Himerius, Bishop of Tarragona, declared that bishops, priests, and deacons, were bound to abstain from their wives, to whom they had been married before ordination, and that anyone who violated this law should be deposed from his office. It must be carefully borne in mind, that Siricius, in the letter referred to, did not undertake to introduce a new law, but to enforce an old one.

From what has been stated, it is clear that celibacy was generally observed by bishops, priests, and deacons, during the first four centuries. To this general rule there were some exceptions, which were looked on as departures from ecclesiastical usage, or, as Epiphanius expresses it, "violations of the canons of the Church."

The discipline of the Greek Church about clerical celibacy grows lax.

After the fourth century, the custom began to be introduced into the Eastern Church, of allowing priests and deacons to live with the wives whom they had married before their ordination.[2] This custom had become pretty general about the middle of the seventh century, and was solemnly sanctioned by the second Council of Trullo (692). The fathers of this Council appealed, in defence of their action, to the words of our Saviour: "What God has joined, let not man attempt to separate." But, with a strange inconsistency, they denied that the prohibition

[1] This is the first of the Decretals extant. *Vide* Harduin, i. 849-850.

[2] Socrates, *E. H.*, ii. c.

extended to bishops, the latter being obliged to separate from their wives. The custom sanctioned by the Council of Trullo, has been observed by the Greek Church down to the present day.

Subdeacons.

There does not appear to have been any fixed rule about the celibacy of subdeacons and those in minor orders during the first four centuries. A Council held at Carthage,[1] in the year 398, while requiring bishops, priests, and deacons to observe the laws of celibacy, declared that other ecclesiastics were at liberty to follow the usage of their respective churches. During the fourth century, the custom was introduced into some churches, of allowing subdeacons to assist at the altar. When this became pretty general, they were required to observe celibacy as those in higher orders. Epiphanius says[2] that in his time celibacy was generally observed by subdeacons; and Leo I. (440-461) declared, in a letter to the Bishop of Toulouse, that subdeacons were strictly bound by the laws of celibacy. However, we find, even after the time of Pope Leo I., that, in some places, subdeacons lived with their wives; such was the case, for instance, in Sicily, as late as the time of Gregory the Great (590-604).

Clerical celibacy strictly observed in Ireland.

The law of clerical celibacy in the early Irish Church was the same as in other parts of Latin Christendom. In the penitential code[3] of the abbot Cummian, which dates from the seventh century, we find it stated, that "ecclesiastics

[1] "Placuit episcopos et presbyteros et diaconos secundum priora statuta etiam ab uxoribus contineri . . . ceteros autem clericos ad hoc non cogi, sed secundum uniuscujusque ecclesiae consuetudinem observari debere" c. 3.

[2] *Adv. Haer.*, lix.

[3] *De Poenitentiarum Mensura*, cap. 3.

who were married before taking orders, and whose wives were still living, were bound to abstain from them under pain of being considered adulterers." And among the penitential canons of St. Columbanus the following occurs:[1] "If any cleric, or deacon, or a person of any ecclesiastical dignity, again knows his wife after his conversion, let him be assured that he has committed adultery, and sinned as greviously as if he had been a cleric from his youth, and as if he had sinned with a strange woman; because, having taken a vow, he sinned by the violation of that vow. Therefore, let him do penance on bread and water for seven years." The case contemplated by the canon is obviously that of a convert to the faith, who, after his marriage and conversion, received holy orders. It is explained differently by some writers; but however it may be explained, it supplies a clear proof that the law of clerical celibacy was enforced in the early Irish Church. And in no country has it been always observed with greater fidelity than in Ireland. When during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries, it was shamefully violated in other countries, it was faithfully observed in Ireland. Thus, we find Gerald Barry, who cannot be accused of any partiality towards the Irish, paying a high tribute to the purity of their priesthood. Speaking at a provincial Synod, held in Dublin (1186) he said:[2] "The clergy of this country are very commendable for religion; and among the divers virtues which distinguish them, they excel and are pre-eminent in the prerogative of chastity."

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[1] *Liber de Poenit. Mensura*, c. 20, apud *Bibl. Pat.*, vol. xii., 21, &c.

[2] *Top. Hib. Diss.* 3.

Objections of Protestant writers.

Ussher, Ledwich, and many other Protestant writers maintain that clerical celibacy was not observed in the early Irish Church. Their principal argument is taken from the following canon attributed to a Synod presided over by St. Patrick: "If any cleric, from a door-keeper to a priest, appear without his tunic, . . . or if his hair be not cut according to the Roman custom, or *if his wife walk out* without the veil, let him be deposed and separated from the Church."[1] To this we reply:—(*a*) The words regarding the cleric's wife are not found in some collections of Irish canons; they are not found, for example, in the collection of the learned D'Acherry, in which the canon runs thus:—

Chief objection taken from a canon of early Irish Church.

"If any cleric, from a door-keeper to a priest, be without his tunic, . . . and wear not his hair according to the Roman custom, let him be separated from the Church." (*b*) Admitting the authenticity of the canon, as quoted by Ussher, we may fairly hold that it regards clerics, from door-keepers up to priests, *exclusively*. And (*c*), even granting that the canon includes priests, we can only infer that they were sometimes married which no one denies. The canon does not state that the cleric and his wife lived in the same house, or that they violated the laws of celibacy. We may admit that they did live in the same house, for such was the custom in some parts of the Church at the time. It was only after experience had taught the danger of such a practice, that the wife of a man entering the sacred ministry was required to join some religious society. The words of the canon would even seem to imply that the wife of the cleric was a religious;

[1] Apud Ware, *Opusc. S. Patricii*, p. 42. See Lanigan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, iv. 364, &c.

for she is ordered *to wear the veil*, which, in the language of the early Irish Church, was the same as to become a religious. Nor does it militate against this view that she is represented as going abroad; for it was not uncommon during the fifth, sixth, and seventh centuries, for virgins, who were consecrated to God, to live with their parents or relatives without joining any religious society, a special part of the church being set apart for their use. Thus, the Council of Toledo (653) decreed, that "women taking the habit from the bishops need not enter a convent; they are religious to all intents and purposes, and cannot marry."

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE CONTROVERSY ON THE "THREE CHAPTERS."

Charges against Origen's orthodoxy.

VARIOUS charges of heterodoxy were brought against Origen even during his lifetime. These charges gave rise to controversies between his defenders and opponents which continued, with some intermissions, to distract the Eastern Church for centuries after his death. We have already seen that he was charged during the fourth century with teaching an inequality between the Persons of the Trinity, and with being the author of Arianism. The controversy to which this charge gave rise brought about a rupture of the friendship which had so long subsisted between St. Jerome and Rufinus. It was terminated unfavourably for the Origenists, for Origen's works were condemned as heretical by Anastasius (398-402); and the Emperor Honorius (395-423) forbade (402) his writings to be read.

Origen charged with being a Monophysite

The controversy regarding the orthodoxy of Origen was renewed during the reign of Justinian (527-565), as he was charged by some with teaching Monophysite errors;[1] and was conducted with special heat among the monks of Palestine. Both parties appealed to the Emperor to decide on the points in dispute between them. Justinian was only too glad to get an opportunity of interfering in ecclesiastical matters: he issued (541) an edict condemning

Condemned by Justinian.

[1] Alzog., i. 389.

various errors in Origen's work, *On Principles*. This edict was approved by the Patriarch of Constantinople, and by a *home synod* over which he presided.

Among those who held Origenist opinions, and were accordingly affected by the decision of Justinian, was Theodore Ascidas, a courtier bishop, who possessed great influence with the Emperor, and spent more of his time at Constantinople than in his diocese of Caesarea. He immediately professed his readiness to abide by the imperial decision, and thus managed to maintain his influence at court.

Theodore Ascidas draws the Emperor's attention to the *Three Chapters*.

Theodore adopted a clever device to prevent any evil consequences befalling his party on account of their defeat. He resolved to start a new controversy in order to divert the attention of Justinian and the public from the writings of Origen. In carrying out his purpose he was successful beyond expectation. He represented to the Emperor, that the great difficulty in the way of a reconciliation between the Monophysites and the Catholics, was the action of the Council of Chalcedon, in declaring Theodoret and Ibas orthodox; and that the condemnation of these bishops and of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the father of Nestorianism, would go far to remove the prejudices of the Monophysites against that Council, and thus facilitate their return to Catholic unity. Justinian, acting on this suggestion, issued (about 544) a decree condemning what are known in history as the *Three Chapters*, viz.— (*a*) the person and writings of Theodore of Mopsuestia; (*b*) the writings of Theodoret against St. Cyril; and (*c*) the letter written by Ibas, Bishop of Edessa, to the Persian Bishop Maris against St. Cyril. Henceforth the Origenist controversy disappeared to make way for another, which

Justinian condemns the *Three Chapters*.

was carried out with equal heat, regarding the orthodoxy of certain writings about a century old.

The Emperor commanded all the bishops throughout his dominions to subscribe to the condemnation of the *Three Chapters*. The bishops of the East readily complied: those of the West, being more independent, refused. The opposition was headed by Pope Vigilius, though he is said to have owed his elevation to the Papacy to the intrigues of Theodora, the wife of Justinian.

Vigilius.

At the request of the Emperor, he went to Constantinople, in 547, where he was detained prisoner for seven years. Being asked to condemn the *Three Chapters*, he at first resolutely refused, as the writings of Theodoret and Ibas had not been condemned by the Council of Chalcedon. After some time, however, his constancy being overcome by the intrigues of Theodora, the threats of Justinian, and the fear of a schism in the Church, he consented, in 548, to condemn the *Three Chapters* in a letter known as the *Judicatum*,[1] addressed to the Emperor and the Patriarch of Constantinople. In condemning the *Three Chapters* he took special care to guard against the suspicion of condemning the Council of Chalcedon, for he stated most explicitly that its authority should be fully recognised.[2] He sought to conciliate the Easterns and the Westerns: the former, by condemning the *Three Chapters*; and the latter, by professing to do so without prejudice to the Council of Chalcedon. He failed, however, to attain his object, for the publication of the *Judicatum*

The *Judicatum*.

[1] The *Judicatum* is lost, but fragments of it are preserved in the *Constitutum*, and in a letter written by Justinian to the Council of Constantinople.

[2] "Salva in omnibus reverentia Synodi Chalcedonensis."

evoked a storm of condemnation in the West, where it was looked on as an attack on the Council of Chalcedon. Facundus, Bishop of Hermaine, in Africa, wrote an able defence of the *Three Chapters*. And Rusticus, the Pope's own nephew and constant companion, was one of the most determined opponents of the *Judicatum*. It was, in fine, condemned by an African Synod, held under the presidency of Reparatus, Bishop of Carthage, and by most of the Western Bishops.

Opposition to the *Judicatum*.

Vigilius resolved to convoke a General Council as the only way out of the difficulty in which he was placed. He made known his intentions to the Emperor, who gave his assent, and withdrew the *Judicatum* till the proposed Council should meet. Notwithstanding the Emperor's undertaking to leave the settlement of the controversy to the proposed General Council, he issued a new edict in 551, containing a profession of faith, and condemning the *Three Chapters*; and he went even so far as to pronounce anathema against those who should refuse to accept it. Vigilius boldly condemned this edict as an unwarranted usurpation of authority in ecclesiastical matters, and threatened with excommunication all who would subscribe to it.

A new edict issued by Justinian.

Condemned by Vigilius.

Justinian resolved to punish the Pope for his opposition; and sent soldiers to drag him from the church in which he had taken refuge from the violence of his enemies. Vigilius succeeded in escaping by night from Constantinople, and fled to Chalcedon, on the opposite side of the Bosphorus. Here he pronounced sentence of excommunication against Mennas, Bishop of Constantinople, Theodore Ascidas, and the other bishops who had taken the side of the Emperor.

Justinian was forced to withdraw his edict, and leave the settlement of the controversy to the Council that had been convoked: the bishops who had taken his side, having expressed regret for their conduct, were absolved from the censures they had incurred. Vigilius then returned to Constantinople.

The Fifth Ecumenical Council (553).

This Council was convoked by Justinian at the request of the Pope, to settle the controversy about the *Three Chapters*. Constantinople was named as the place of meeting. Here the Council opened on the 5th of May, 553. There were one hundred and fifty-three bishops present at the first Session; the number afterwards increased to one hundred and sixty-five. They were all from the East, with the exception of five bishops from Africa. The European bishops refused to attend, as they feared harsh treatment at the hands of the Emperor.[1]

The Pope also refused to attend, assigning as his reason his delicate state of health, and the absence of the Western bishops; at the same time, he promised to the representatives of the Council who waited on him, that he would state his opinion in writing regarding the points in controversy. After a few days, he wrote a letter to the Emperor, known as the *Constitutum*, setting forth his views. He condemned sixty propositions taken from the writings of Theodoret; but refused to condemn his person, as he had died in outward communion with the Church. He declared his readiness, to condemn whatever was heretical in the writings of Theodoret, but not under his name, as he

The *Constitutum*.

[1] Reparatus of Carthage went to Constantinople, in 551, to attend a Council. He was deposed by the Emperor, because he refused to condemn the *Three Chapters*, and banished on a charge of disloyalty. Rob., ii. 304.

had retracted his Nestorian errors before his death. Finally, he refused to condemn the writings of Ibas, as he was under the impression at the time, that they had been received as orthodox by the fathers of Chalcedon.[1] The *Constitutum* was signed by Vigilius and sixteen bishops, and forwarded to the Emperor. The latter refused to receive it, or to allow it to be laid before the Council.

The *Three Chapters* condemned.

The fathers of Constantinople received the decrees of the four Ecumenical Councils, and condemned the *Three Chapters:* they pronounced fourteen anathemas, eleven against various heretics from Arius to Eutyches, and three against the *Three Chapters.* Vigilius refused to approve the acts of the Council, whereupon he was sent into exile, and his name was erased from the Diptychs[2] by order of the Emperor. After some months spent in exile,[3] he consented to condemn the *Three Chapters,* in a letter addressed to Eutychius, the successor of Mennas. Permission was then given to him to return to his see; but he died on his way back to Rome, at Syracuse, in 555. His

This condemnation approved by Vigilius.

[1] The fathers of Chalcedon did not declare the letter of Ibas orthodox: the only foundation for the opinion of Vigilius was the words used by one of the Papal Legates at the Council, viz., "Relecta enim ejus (Ibae) epistola agnovimus eum esse orthodoxum." The enemies of Ibas attacked his orthodoxy, chiefly on the ground that he represented St. Cyril as holding heretical opinions, not only before his reconciliation with John of Antioch, but also after their reconciliation. The letter did not sustain this charge, hence the Papal Legate was justified in stating that he declared Ibas orthodox after "having read his letter." But though the letter did not support the charge of heterodoxy in the form in which it was brought against Ibas at the Council of Chalcedon, it contained a number of erroneous opinions which justified its condemnation by the subsequent Council of Constantinople.

[2] The Diptychs were altar cards, that could be folded, containing the names of those that were to be commemorated during Mass.

[3] Anastasius (*Lat. Patrol.*, cxxvii. 580); Baronius, Ad an. 553. Some think that Vigilius was not banished, but that he was kept in confinement in Constantinople till he consented to approve the acts of the Council.

successor, Pelagius I. (555-560) approved of the acts of the Council. On this account, his orthodoxy was questioned by many bishops of the West, so that he deemed it necessary to make a profession of faith to remove the suspicion. The opposition to the Council of Constantinople culminated in a schism in Northern Italy, which continued down to the time of Gregory the Great (590-604).

The conduct of Vigilius examined.

Vigilius may, perhaps, be charged with a want of constancy in the controversy on the *Three Chapters*, though, even under this head, there are not wanting writers who defend him, and undertake to show that his conduct throughout was guided by prudence and the requirements of the times. But whatever may be said on this subject, it is certain that the acts of Vigilius supply no argument against the infallibility of an Ecumenical Council, or of the Holy See.

Not opposed to doctrine of the infallibility of General Councils.

First. They supply no argument against the infallibility of an Ecumenical Council. For—(*a*) the writings of Theodore, Theodoret, and Ibas, contain many Nestorian errors. And (*b*) the person of Theodore could be condemned; for, though he died in external communion with the Church, he taught errors that had been already condemned in the case of Paul of Somosata, viz., that Christ as man was not the Son of God by nature, but only by grace and adoption. Hence, in *foro externo*, he could have been held guilty and condemned as one who had taught an heretical doctrine which he never retracted. The judgment of the Council did not mean that he had been guilty in the sight of God; much less, that he had been excluded from heaven. Its decision is also quite compatible with that of the Council of Chalcedon; for the latter, without passing any judgment on the writings of Theodoret and Ibas,

merely declared that they were personally orthodox, after they had anathematized the errors of Nestorius.

Papal infallibility.

Secondly. The acts of Vigilius supply no argument against Papal infallibility. *(a)* For in condemning the *Three Chapters* he did simply what was afterwards done by the Council of Constantinople. *(b)* The retractation of the *Judicatum* was merely a disciplinary act, prompted by the requirements of the time, to give the General Council, which had been convoked, an opportunity of pronouncing an independent judgment on the whole controversy. It involved neither the approval nor the condemnation of the *Three Chapters*. And *(c)* the *Constitutum* did not contain a definition of faith pronounced *ex cathedra*, but rather an exposition of the Pope's personal views on the points in dispute, for the information of the Council. That it did not purport to be a dogmatic definition, is sufficiently obvious from the absence of the usual anathema, or any threat against those who would entertain different opinions. Even granting that it was a dogmatic definition, there is in it nothing incompatible with Catholic faith. Vigilius refused in it to condemn the writings of Ibas: he did not, thereby, declare them orthodox.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO IRELAND.

BEFORE their conversion, the Irish were, like other pagan nations, idolators. The principal object of their worship appears to have been the sun; they also paid religious honours to the moon and the stars, and to the powers presiding over the mountains, the rivers, and the woods. Their priests, who were called Druids, worshipped not in temples made with hands, but "in 'groves' and 'high places,' under the shade of the spreading oaks." [1]

Christianity introduced into Ireland at an early date.

It is not known when Christianity was first introduced into Ireland. It is most probable that it was introduced at an early date, as Irish chieftains made frequent incursions into Gaul, Britain, and other lands, and carried away captives to their own country. Among these captives we may reasonably suppose there were some Christians. There was also a constant commercial intercourse [2] between Ireland and continental countries, during the first ages of the Church. This gave the people of Ireland another opportunity of becoming acquainted with the Christian religion.

[1] Dr. Healy, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, 3. Some maintain that the Druids were not priests: see Archdeacon O'Rorke's *History of Sligo*, ii. 7.

[2] Tacitus says that in his time Ireland was noted for its commerce. "Aditus portusque per commercia et negotiatores cogniti." *Agricola*, xxiv.

St. Palladius.

It is certain that there were Christians[1] in Ireland before the year 431, for Prosper says[2] that Palladius was sent to the "Scots believing in Christ." It does not appear, however, that there was any bishop in the country before that year, for Prosper speaks[3] of him as the "first bishop" sent to the Irish.

Not only was Palladius the first Bishop of Ireland, but he was the first missionary of whom we have an account who attempted to evangelise the country. According to some, he was a native of Britain, and, at the time he was selected for his Irish mission, a deacon of the Roman Church. Celestine I. (422-432), who was Pope at the time, learned the condition of the country from St. Germanus of Auxerre, and Lupus of Troyes, who had been sent (429) to England to combat the spread of Pelagianism. He consecrated Palladius bishop, and sent him to Ireland, in 431, accompanied by a few missionaries. They landed the same year on the coast of Wexford; and appear to have confined their labours to the territory now called Wicklow. Here they made many converts and built some Churches.

Failure of the mission.

The success of Palladius soon attracted the attention of a local chief named Nathi, who ordered him to leave the country. Owing to Nathi's opposition, and the

[1] There is a tradition mentioned by the Four Masters, that Cormac Mac Art, Ard-Righ of Ireland (227-267), became a Christian towards the end of his reign.

[2] "Ad Scotos in Christum credentes ordinatus a Papa Celestino Palladius primus episcopus mittitur." *Chron.* Ad an. 431.

[3] *Ibidem.* There have not been wanting some to hold that there were bishops in Ireland before the arrival of St. Patrick. See Hogan's *St. Ciaran of Ossory*, p. 76. They would explain the term *primus* used by Prosper, to mean not *the first*, but *the chief*.

difficulties he experienced in speaking the native language he withdrew from Ireland towards the end of the year 431, leaving a few priests after him to minister to the spiritual wants of his converts. He intended to proceed to Rome, but he was taken ill on his way, and died shortly after his arrival in Britain. The work undertaken by Palladius was brought to a successful issue by St Patrick the Apostle of Ireland. "Not to Palladius," says Jocelyn,[1] "but to Patrick, did the Lord vouchsafe the conversion of the Irish."

St Patrick.

According to what appears to be the more generally received opinion, St. Patrick[2] was a native of Scotland,[3] and was born probably at Kilpatrick, near Dunbarton.

[1] *Vita Sexta.*

[2] His original name was Succat.

[3] That he was a native of North Britain was the opinion of Ussher (*De Antiq. Brit. Eccl.*, c. xvii.); of Ware (ii. 5); of Colgan, who says (*Tri. Thaum. Acta*): "Such was the common opinion of all who had hitherto written on the subject;" of Innes, who asserts (p. 34) that this was the opinion of the "learnedest of the Irish and other foreign writers." Such also is the opinion of Petrie, O'Donovan, O'Curry, and Card. Moran (*Dub. Rev.*, April, 1880).

His Gallican origin has been strenuously defended by Rothe (*Hib. Rest.*, i. 199); O'Sullivan (*Patr. Doc.*, 4); and Dr. Lanigan (i. 88, &c.). The last-mentioned writer says he was born at Boulogne-sur-Mer. The claims of other countries—England, Spain, and Wales—have been urged by some writers.

The chief authorities on his life are his *Confession;* his *Letter to the Christian Subjects of the Tyrant Caroticus;* the *Book of Armagh*, written about the beginning of the ninth century, which contains his *Confession*, and other records of his life; and the first volume of Colgan's *Acta Sanctorum Vet. et Maj. Scotiae.* In the last mentioned there are seven Lives of the saint, many of which are supposed to have been written by his contemporaries. They are arranged by Colgan in the following order:—*Vita Prima*, in verse, by St. Fiacc, Bishop of Sletty; *Vita Secunda*, by Patrick Junior; *Vita Tertia*, by St. Benignus; *Vita Quarta*, by St. Eleran († 664); *Vita Quinta*, by Probus, who flourished probably during the tenth century; *Vita Sexta*, by Jocelyn, a Cistercian monk of the twelfth century; and the *Vita Septima*, or *Tripartite*,

about the year 372.[1] His father Calpurnius was of curial rank, a deacon, and the son of Potitus a priest; his mother Conchessa, appears to have been a relative of St. Martin of Tours. At the age of sixteen he was taken captive by some Irish pirates, and sold as a slave to a large cattle

Taken captive.

by St. Evin, who lived, according to Colgan, in the sixth, but, according to Lanigan, in the tenth century.

St. Patrick refers to his birthplace and parentage in two passages of his *Confession*. In one he says: "I, Patrick, a sinner, the most unlearned and least of all the faithful, held in contempt by very many, had Calpurnius, a deacon, for my father, the son of the late Potitus, a priest, who lived in the village of Bonavem-Taberniae. He had close by a small villa (Enom is added by Ware), where I was made captive." And in another place, he says: "Wherefore, though I should have wished to leave (Ireland) that I might go to Britain (Britanias), a journey most desirable to me, as unto my own country and kindred. And not thither only, but that I might go as far as Gaul (usque ad Gallias) to visit my brethren, and to see the face of the saints of the Lord." This latter passage appears very strong against his Gallican origin, for in it he speaks of Britain as his own country. Dr. Lanigan's contention, that the North of France was then known as Britain is at most very doubtful; and there is no evidence whatever to show that the term *Britanniae*, used in the *Confession*, was ever applied to that district. It was applied to England because of the four provinces, into which it had been divided by the Romans. Moreover, Gallican Brittany formed part of Gaul (Galliae); therefore St. Patrick could not have said: "Not thither (viz. to Britain) only, but that I might go as far as Gaul." In the metrical Life of St. Patrick, by St. Fiacc, it is said that he was born at Nemthor, which the Scholiast observes was a town in North Britain. Probus speaks (c. i.) of him as being born in Britain (Britanniis), and Jocelyn (c. vi.) refers to him as a Britain by nationality.

According to Dr. Lanigan, Bonavem-Taberniae, where St. Patrick's father lived, would mean Boulogne (Bononia), in the district of Terabenna (Tabernia), an ancient city not far from Boulogne-sur-Mer. According to Card. Moran, *Bonavem* is a Celtic word, meaning the mouth of a river; and Tabernia means a district containing tents or tabernacles. He would accordingly understand by *Bonavem-Taberniae*, the village of Kilpatrick, which was situated at the mouth of the Clyde, and in a district where there were old Roman camps.

[1] This is the date given by Ussher; that given by Lanigan is 387; while Tillemont places his birth between 395 and 415.

owner named Milcho, in the county of Antrim. Here he spent six years, during which time he became acquainted with the language of the country; and by the practice of constant prayer, fasting, and other ascetical exercises, he acquired those virtues that were to make his future mission so successful.

His escape from captivity.

At the end of the sixth year of his captivity, he heard a voice in his sleep saying to him: "Thou fastest well, and soon art to go to thy own country." After a short time he heard the same voice saying to him: "Behold a ship is ready for you."[1] He set out for a distant part of Ireland, pointed out to him in vision, where he had never been before. After a journey of about two hundred miles he reached the coast, and found a ship ready to start. He gained admission to it with some difficulty, and after a three days' voyage, he reached land. He tells us in his *Confession*, that, after a few years, he was again taken captive. His second captivity, however, did not last long, for he says the Lord delivered him "from the hands of his enemies on the sixtieth night."[2] Having obtained his freedom, he went to the school of St. Martin of Tours, at Marmoutier, where he spent four years.

Second captivity.

His vision.

Shortly after his departure from Tours, when he was about thirty years of age,[3] he had a vision of the Irish people asking him to come and preach the Gospel among them. "And I saw," he says,[4] "in a nocturnal vision, a man coming as if from Ireland, whose name was Victoricius, with innumerable letters, one of which he handed to me.

[1] *Conf.*, p. 6.
[2] *Conf.*, p. 9.
[3] *Vita Secunda*, c. 21; *Vita Quarta*, c. 25; *Trip.*, i. c. 31.
[4] *Conf.*, p. 12.

On reading the beginning of it, I found it contained the words, *the voice of the Irish ;* and, while reading it, I thought I heard the voice of persons from near the wood Foclut, which is close to the western sea, and they cried out, as if with one voice: *We entreat thee, holy youth, to come and walk still among us ;* and I was greatly affected, and could read no longer. Then I awoke."

St. Patrick in Lerins, and with St. Germanus.

Of his subsequent life, up to the time of his starting on his mission to Ireland, very little is known. He spent the intervening years preparing for the great work before him ; first, in the island of Lerins, which was at the time a great seat of learning ; and afterwards under St. Germanus of Auxerre, who enjoyed a high reputation as a master of the spiritual life. He travelled to Britain with the latter, early in the fifth century, to combat the spread of Pelagianism.

He is commissioned by St. Celestine to preach the Gospel in Ireland.

In 431, he went to Rome, bringing with him letters from St. Germanus to St. Celestine, in which he was strongly recommended as a suitable person to take part in the mission on which Palladius was about to start for Ireland. On his arrival in the Eternal City, he was kindly received by the Pope. It is disputed whether he arrived there before the departure of Palladius: it is certain, however, that he did not accompany the latter to Ireland. Having received the blessing of St. Celestine, he started for the scene of his future labours, in the year 432. On his way thither he heard of the death of Palladius and received episcopal consecration.[1]

[1] There is considerable controversy among writers regarding the name of the consecrating prelate, and the place where the ceremony was performed. According to the *Tripartite* (i., c. 39), the *Vita Sexta* (c. 5), and the Scholiast on Fiacc's Metrical Life, he was consecrated at Rome by

His arrival in Ireland.

He landed in Wicklow, in the year 432, but was soon forced to re-embark, owing to the opposition of the natives. He then directed his course northwards, and landed on the coast of Down near Strangford, where he was kindly received by a wealthy man named Dicho, who lived at a place called Saul. St. Patrick explained to him the object of his mission and the nature of the Christian faith. Dicho and his whole family were converted, and were the first-fruits [1] of the saint's mission in Ireland. It is said by some that it was on this occasion he built the church of Saul. After remaining here for some time he set out for the residence of his old master in Antrim; but he failed in his efforts to convert Milcho. He returned to the territory of Dicho, where he succeeded in making numerous converts.

His journey to Tara.

On the approach of Easter, 433, he set out for Tara, the residence of the Ard-Righ of Ireland, where the chiefs of the nation had assembled to celebrate the festival of their sun-god, which happened to be held that year on Easter Sunday. On his way thither he remained for a night in the house of a man named Seschnen, by whom he

St. Celestine who gave him the name of Patrick. The *Vita Secunda* (c. 26), *Vita Quarta* (c. 31), *Vita Quinta* (c. 25), and the *Book of Armagh* (*Documenta Sti. Patricii*, edited by Rev. E. Hogan, S.J., p. 25), say he was consecrated near Euboria by a bishop named Amator.

Dr. Lanigan (iv. 198) and Dr. Todd (*Life of St. Patrick*, p. 460) identify Euboria with Evreux in France; and Amator with Amandus, Archbishop of Bourdeaux. Dr. Moran (*Irish Eccles. Record*, Oct. 1866), following Papebroch, one of the Bollandists, understands by Euboria, Ivrea in the north of Italy at the foot of the Alps; and by Amator St. Maximus, Bishop of Turin, "St. Patrick," he says, "was on his way to Ireland when he heard of the death of Palladius, in the north of Italy; he then turned aside from his direct route to Turin, where he was consecrated bishop."

[1] "Credidit et baptizatus est qui primus Scotorum per Patricium confessus est" (*Vita Secunda*, c. 28). According to the *Tripartite* (i. c. 42), his first Irish convert was made in Wicklow.

was kindly received. All the members of his household were converted, and among them one of his sons, to whom St. Patrick gave the name Benignus. The latter became one of the saint's disciples, and his successor in the see of Armagh.

The lighting of the Paschal fire.

He arrived at the hill of Slane, within view of Tara, on Holy Saturday. Here he prepared to celebrate the Festival of Easter, and lighted the Paschal fire immediately after sunset. This was a violation of the law of the country, which forbade any fire to be lighted in Ireland that day till the signal was given by the lighting of a fire on the royal hill of Tara. Leoghaire, who was Ard-Righ at the time, seeing the fire in the distance was incensed, and resolved to punish the offenders. Accompanied by a number of his courtiers, he advanced in the direction of Slane, and had St. Patrick and his companions summoned before him to answer for their conduct. St. Patrick boldly approached the king, and explained the nature of his mission. He made such a favourable impression on Leoghaire, that he was invited to come to Tara on the following day, to give full information about the new religion. One of the royal retinue, named Heric, was converted on this occasion: he afterwards became Bishop of Slane.

Interview between St. Patrick and the Ard-Righ.

St. Patrick at Tara on Easter Sunday.

In fulfilment of his promise, St. Patrick appeared at Tara on Easter Sunday, and entered into a lengthened discussion with the chief druids present, regarding the relative merits of Christianity and Paganism. So successfully did he establish the superiority of the former, both at Tara, and at Tailten on the following day, that many of those present were converted, among them being the wife of the Ard-Righ, Conall Crevan, his brother, and

Dubtach, the chief poet. The king himself does not appear to have embraced the faith; but he gave permission to St. Patrick to preach freely through his dominions.

He laboured for seven years in Connaught.

He remained for almost two years in Meath, Westmeath, and Longford. He then went to Connaught, where he spent seven years.[1] His labours here, as in the other provinces of Ireland, were attended with marvellous success. Shortly after crossing the Shannon, he converted two daughters[2] of king Leoghaire, who were then staying at Croghan, the residence of the provincial king, under the care of two druids. On his arrival in Tirawley, he heard that a festival was being celebrated there, at which the seven sons of a local chieftain, named Amalgaidh, presided. He immediately directed his steps towards the scene of the celebration, and proclaimed to the assembled multitude the doctrine of the Gospel; with the result, as we are told,[3] that the seven sons of Amalgaidh, with about 12,000 of the others present, renounced Paganism and embraced Christianity.

He spends forty days on Croagh Patrick.

During his stay in Connaught, he spent a Lenten season on Croagh-Aigle, now Croagh-Patrick, near Westport, which is referred to by all his early biographers. We are told that he remained forty days on the mountain, in fasting and prayer; and that he continued to address the most solemn appeals to God for the perseverance of the Irish people in the faith, till at length his petition was granted, and he was assured, that on the last day, he himself "should be judge over the men of Erin."[4]

[1] "Tribus autem vicibus trajecto Sinnano flumine venit in Connaciam, in eaque mansit septem annis," *Trip.*, ii. c. 108.

[2] Ethna and Feidelm.

[3] *Trip.*, ii. c. 77.

[4] *Trip.*, ii. c. 63.

Towards the end of his sojourn in Connaught, Auxilius, Secundinus, and Isserninus returned (about 441) to Ireland, after having received episcopal consecration. They had been sent by St. Patrick to Britain or Gaul, to be consecrated according to ecclesiastical law, which required the presence of at least three bishops at such a ceremony. There was no longer any necessity for those who were to be appointed bishops in Ireland to go to other countries for consecration. Auxilius, &c. consecrated bishops.

On his departure from Connaught, he travelled northwards, and preached in Tyrone, Donegal, Derry, and Antrim, in each of which he made numerous converts. He then proceeded southwards, and preached the Gospel in Leinster. We are not told how long he laboured in Ulster and Leinster. He preached in Ulster.

The next scene of his missionary labours was Munster, where he spent seven years. At Cashel of the Kings, one of the first places in Munster that he visited, he made many converts; and among them Aengus, the king's son, who soon afterwards succeeded to the crown. He preached in every county in the south of Ireland, with the exception, perhaps, of Kerry and Clare, which are not mentioned by any of his early biographers. In Munster.

It was probably during his stay in Munster, that Coroticus, a British chief of Wales, made a descent on the east coast of Ireland, and, though a Christian by profession, murdered some of St. Patrick's converts, and carried away others, whom he sold as slaves to the Picts and Britons. This unchristian conduct of a Christian prince evoked a strong protest from St. Patrick. He wrote a letter, which is extant, to the Christian subjects of Coroticus, excommunicating their chief, till he had done penance for his sins. Letter to the subjects of Coroticus

Having preached the Gospel, and founded churches and monasteries in nearly every part of Ireland, St. Patrick now turned his attention to consolidating his work, and establishing the government of the Irish Church on a permanent basis. He selected Armagh as the Primatial See, and here he built, about 458,[1] his Cathedral Church, on a hill given for the purpose by Daire, a local chieftain. Such was the beginning of the city of Armagh. He appears to have spent the remaining days of his life between Armagh and his favourite retreat at Saul.

Armagh selected as the Primatial See.

He held two Synods which passed many disciplinary laws for the government of the Irish Church. One of them is styled the Synod of St. Patrick, to which many canons are attributed that are of later origin. The other is styled the Synod of Bishops, viz., Patrick, Auxilius, and Isserninus. The canons attributed to the latter are generally admitted to be genuine, with one or two exceptions, and contain excellent instructions for the guidance of the clergy in the discharge of their duties. In addition to the canons attributed to these two Synods, there are many others[2] whose authorship is referred to St. Patrick. Of these the most noteworthy is one ordering that all difficult cases that cannot be settled in Ireland should be referred to Rome. As quoted[3] by Dr. Lanigan, the canon runs thus: "If a difficult cause may occur, which

Canons of St. Patrick.

[1] This is the date given by the Four Masters. According to the *Vita Tertia*, *Vita Quarta*, and *Vita Sexta*, St. Patrick's mission to Munster preceded the foundation of Armagh. Hence, argues Dr. Lanigan, the earliest date of its foundation would be 455.

[2] All these canons are given by Ware in his *Opuscula S. Patricio adscripta*. The canons attributed to the Synods are given in Harduin, *Coll. Conc.*, i.

[3] ii. 391.

cannot be easily decided by the Irish prelates and the see of Armagh, it shall be sent to the Apostolic See; that is, to the chair of the Apostle, St. Peter, which hath the authority of the City of Rome." This canon was quoted at the Synod of Old Leighlin (630).

From the frequent reference made to bishops in the canons of St. Patrick, it is clear that there was a large number of them in Ireland before his death. Jocelyn says[1] that St. Patrick consecrated three hundred and fifty bishops, while the author of the *Tripartite* places[2] the number as high as three hundred and seventy.

Death of St. Patrick.

According to the commonly received opinion, St. Patrick resigned his see some time before his death, in order to spend the last days of his life in solitude and prayer. It is said by some that he lived to see four of his successors in the see of Armagh. Feeling at length that his end was near, he withdrew to his favourite retreat at Saul. Here he wrote his *Confession*, containing a brief account of his life from the age of sixteen. It was here, also, that he breathed his last on the 17th of March, in the year—according to the more common opinion[3]—492. He was buried in Downpatrick, where his obsequies were celebrated for twelve days.

Ireland an island of saints and scholars.

St. Patrick found the Irish a pagan, he left them a Christian people. This of itself is a sufficient proof that he possessed the qualities of a great apostle; and who can deny that the Irish people were worthy of such an

[1] *Vita Sexta*, c. 85.

[2] iii. c. 97.

[3] *Annals of Ulster, Annals of the Four Masters*, Ussher, Ware, Colgan, &c. See Lanigan (i. 362), who gives 465 as the date of his death, while the Bollandists give 460.

apostle? They not only embraced Christianity, but, on a sudden, attained a pre-eminence among the nations of the earth for sanctity and learning, which won for their country the proud title of "Island of Saints and Scholars." Churches studded the land; monasteries and convents sprung up everywhere; and famous schools were established which were frequented not only by the youth of the country, but by students from England and the Continent, who sought in Ireland the educational advantages denied them in their own countries.

Irish monasticism.

Monasticism was introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick. The rule originally observed by the religious was most probably the same as that followed by the monks of St. Martin at Marmoutier, near Tours, where St. Patrick studied for some time. This rule was, however, somewhat modified, to make it more suitable to the religious temperament of the people. The brightest ornaments of Irish monasticism were St. Brigid and St. Columbkille. We shall confine our attention for the present to the former, as we shall treat of the latter in connection with the introduction of Christianity into Scotland.

St. Brigid, "the Mary of Ireland"

St. Brigid, the Patroness of Ireland, was born, about 453, at Fochard, two miles from Dundalk. Her parents were from Leinster; but, at the time of her birth, they happened to be travelling in the north of Ireland. She received a good religious and secular education; and, during her early years, was specially noted for her modesty and her charity to the poor. At the age of sixteen she resolved to embrace the religious state, and took the veil from Bishop Maccaleus, at Usny, in Westmeath. We are told that seven or eight other maidens consecrated themselves to God on the same occasion, and that, at their urgent request,

St. Brigid was appointed their superioress. Such was the simple beginning of the Brigidine Order of nuns, which played a prominent part in the early history of the Irish Church.

Fame of her sanctity.

St. Brigid, while practising the most extreme austerities herself, was always kind and considerate towards others. The fame of her sanctity, and of the wisdom of her rule, soon spread to every part of Ireland, and applications for admission to her institute poured in upon her in great numbers. At the request of many bishops, she visited different parts of the country, and founded numerous convents; and within a very short time there was scarcely any part of Ireland in which her nuns were not to be found.

Her convent in Kildare.

Her chief house was in Leinster, near where her parents lived. The people of this district, feeling that they had stronger claims on her services than those in other parts of Ireland, sent a deputation to her, asking her to come and establish a convent in their midst. She immediately expressed her willingness to comply with their request; and on her arrival, about 487, a house was placed at her disposal by the people of the locality. She immediately set about building a church close to an oak-tree—hence styled the Church of the Oak, or Kildare—in which the public services of the Church could be carried on. Other buildings were added to meet the wants of the rapidly increasing community, and a town soon sprung up in connection with the convent.

A bishop appointed to Kildare.

From the time that she took up her residence at Kildare, she remained there constantly, except on some occasions when she was absent visiting her convents in other parts of Ireland. At her request a bishop was appointed, in the

person of St. Conlaeth, to assist her in the government of her Order. He presided over a monastery of men situated near St. Brigid's convent. This was the origin of the diocese of Kildare. It is generally supposed that the pre-eminence enjoyed by the bishops of this see among the bishops of the province, down to the end of the ninth century, was owing to the reputation of the famous Brigidine convent situated in their diocese.

Her death.

St. Brigid died on the 1st February, probably in the year 523. Her rule continued to be observed in Ireland for centuries after her death. It was also introduced into other countries, as, for instance, into England, where it soon became very popular. The dress of the Brigidine nuns consisted of a white habit, and of a white veil worn over the head.

Chief monastic schools.

The great schools of the country were monastic. The most prominent were those of Armagh, founded by St. Patrick; Clonard,[1] founded (520) by St. Finnian († 548); Glendalough, founded by St. Kevin († 618); Clonmacnoise, founded by St. Ciaran († 549); Bangor,[2] founded by St. Comgall († 601); Lismore, founded by St. Carthagus[3] († 637); and Mayo, founded (633) by St. Colman of Lindisfarne for the Englishmen who followed him to Ireland.

Nor was the religious zeal of the Irish people confined to their own island. Many of them visited other countries,

[1] It is said, there were as many as 3,000 students at the same time at Clonard, under St. Finnian.

[2] It is said, that at one time there were as many as 3,000 monks in this monastery.

[3] Carthagus was a bishop when he founded this monastery. It was not at all uncommon at this time to have a bishop at the head of a monastic institution: and a monastery was frequently the beginning of a diocese.

and assisted in spreading the Gospel, and in reviving religion where it had fallen into decay. There is not a country in Western Europe that did not owe to Ireland, before the ninth century, a deep debt of gratitude for the missionary labours of her children. The names of many of them are still honoured and revered in Scotland, England, France, Germany, Switzerland, and Italy.

Irish missionaries preached in other countries.

CHAPTER XXV.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CHRISTIANITY INTO SCOTLAND.

Northern and Southern Picts.

CHRISTIANITY does not appear to have been introduced into Scotland before the fifth century. At that time its inhabitants were generally designated by the name of Picts, from the custom they had of painting their bodies, and the country itself was styled Pictland, and sometimes Albania. The Picts were divided into the Northern and Southern Picts. The former lived to the north of the Grampian Hills; the latter inhabited the country lying between the Grampian Hills and the Firths of Forth and Clyde.

St. Ninian among the Southern Picts.

St. Ninian, the first missionary who preached the Gospel in Scotland is said to have been the son of a British chief. He received his early education in the school of St. Martin of Tours, and completed his studies at Rome. He arrived in Scotland, about 412; and laboured among the Southern Picts, most of whom he succeeded in converting before his death (432).

St Columbkille.

The great apostle of the Northern, and, to some extent, of the Southern Picts also, was St. Columbkille—the Dove of the Church.[1] He was born at Gartan, in Donegal, about 521, and was descended from Nial of the Nine Hostages, At an early age he evinced a decided taste for the ecclesiastical state. He studied in the famous monasteries[2]

[1] So called from his constant attendance in the church.

[2] These were founded by two saints of the name of Finian.

of Moville, in Down, and Clonard, in Meath. On his return to his native county, about 546, he founded a monastery near Lough Foyle, at a place called Daire-Colgaic, of which he became the superior. This was the origin of the City of Derry, and of the name which it bears. Having placed this monastery on a secure basis, he resolved to extend his religious institute to other parts of the country. He founded the monastery of Durrow, in 550, where he remained for some time. It was probably during his stay here that he was ordained priest; he had been already ordained deacon at Moville. He remained a priest to the end of his life, having always refused, though often asked to receive, the order of the episcopate. After a short stay in Durrow, he went to Kells, in Meath, where he founded one of his most flourishing monasteries. Many other monasteries in Sligo,[1] Roscommon, Meath, and Dublin, are said to have been founded by him; but with what degree of truth it is impossible to ascertain. It is probable that many of them were founded by members of the Columbian institute, after the departure of St. Columbkille from Ireland.

Becomes a Monk.

He set out for Scotland, in 563, accompanied by twelve monks, to preach the Gospel to the pagan inhabitants of that country.[2] He landed on the Island of Hy, called after

Goes to Scotland.

[1] Archdeacon O'Rorke, in his *History of Sligo* (ii. 498), adduces strong arguments to show that St. Columbkille founded the monastery of Drumcliffe, in the north of Sligo.

[2] O'Donnell, who lived during the twelfth century, wrote a Life of St. Columbkille, in which he says (ii., c. 1.) that his mission to Scotland was the result of a penance imposed on him by his confessor. He copied a psaltèr belonging to St. Finian of Moville without the knowledge of the latter. St. Finian demanded the copy; but St. Columba refused to surrender it. The former then appealed to Dermott, the Ard-Righ, who decided in his favour. St. Columba still refused to yield, and was supported by his clansmen

His arrival in Iona.

him, Hy Columbkille, or simply Iona, of which he had received a grant from his kinsman, Connal, King of the Albanian Scots.[1] Here he built a church and a monastery, and remained two years making immediate preparation for the great work before him. He set out for the mainland in 565, and, following the example of St. Patrick, determined to make his first great attack on paganisn in its citadel.

Appears before King Brude.

With this object, he directed his steps towards the palace[2] of Brude, King of the northern Picts. When the latter heard of the saint's approach, he ordered the gates to be shut against him. But when St. Columbkille arrived, he made the sign of the cross, and immediately the gates flew open. This miracle impressed the King so much, that he embraced Christianity, and ever after treated St. Columba with the greatest kindness.

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of Tyrconnell. St. Columba had also another cause of complaint against Dermott, viz., that the latter violated the law of ecclesiastical immunity, by putting a young man to death who had taken refuge with him. The armies of the Ard-Righ and of Columba's clansmen met at Cooldrewny (561). The latter were victorious; but it is said that St. Molaise of Innismurray, the spiritual director of St. Columbkille, imposed on him as a penance, for having been the cause of so much bloodshed, that he should leave Ireland, and gain to Christ as many as had been slain at Cooldrewny. Dr. Lanigan holds (ii. 146) that he went to Scotland from pure missionary zeal, and not in consequence of a penance.

[1] The Scots, or inhabitants of Ireland, made frequent descents on Albania. They succeeded ultimately in effecting a settlement in Argyleshire, about the year 503, under the chief Laorn, as their first king. The Picts and Scots lived on amicable terms till about 840, when Kenneth II., King of the Albanian Scots, defeated the Picts, and conquered the most of Albania. Towards the end of the same century the Scots established their supremacy over the whole country. Since that time it has been known as Scotia or Scotland; it was, however, styled Scotia *minor* up to the end of the seventeenth century, to distinguish it from Ireland, which was called either simply Scotia, or Scotia *major*.

[2] Adamnan's *Life of St. Columbkille* iii. 23.

Having laboured for some years in the mainland, he visited the Orkney Islands, and afterwards the Hebrides, where he remained for a considerable time. He also preached among the Southern Picts and Albanian Scots; and succeeded in converting those among them who had not been already Christians.

Preaches in the Orkney Islands and among the Southern Picts.

Wherever he preached, whether on the mainland or in the islands, he founded monasteries, as the great means of continuing the good work that he had begun.

He returned to Ireland, in 590, to defend the bards who had been threatened with suppression. Many of them had abused the privileges they enjoyed, and had excited against their order a bitter feeling of opposition. This opposition was carried so far, that it became necessary to convoke an assembly of the nation to consider the question of their suppression. The assembly was held at Drumceat, in Derry: St. Columbkille appeared there in the interests of the bards; and so eloquently did he plead their cause, that it was resolved to reform, and not suppress, their order.

Goes to Ireland to defend the bards.

From Drumceat he went to visit the monasteries of Derry, Durrow, Clonmacnoise, and Bangor. After a brief stay in Ireland, he sailed from Coleraine for Scotland. He spent the remainder of his days in his beloved Iona, copying MSS., and superintending the monastic observances of his monks. Being aware that his end was at hand, he ascended an eminence on the day before his death, and gave his blessing to the monastery, the island, and the country. He then returned to his cell, and engaged for some time in his favourite exercise of copying the Psalter. When he came to the words of the 33rd Psalm, "Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono," he stopped

He returns to Scotland.

suddenly, saying: "Let Baithen[1] write the rest." When the hour for midnight prayer struck, he hastened to the church, but only to die. The monks, on arriving, found him prostrate on the ground. Having given his children a few words of advice, and bestowed on them his last blessing, he passed peacefully to his reward, on the 9th of June, 597. His remains were transferred to the mainland, about 817, by Dermott, abbot of Iona, to protect them from desecration by the Danes. They were brought to Ireland in 878, and buried in Downpatrick, with those of St. Patrick and St. Brigid.[2]

His death.

St. Columbkille, though a simple priest, possessed ecclesiastical jurisdiction over the whole of Scotland, and even over the bishops of that country. Out of respect for his memory, the same privilege was enjoyed for over two centuries by his successors in Iona. We are told by Adamnan,[3] that St. Columbkille had a bishop always residing with him in Iona, to perform the religious functions for which his own orders disqualified him. From the jurisdiction enjoyed by St. Columbkille and his successors over the Scottish Church, Presbyterian writers endeavoured to show that he recognised no distinction between bishops and priests. If St. Columbkille, as those writers assert, recognised no distinction between the episcopate and the presbyterate, why is it that we are expressly told by Adamnan,[4] his eighth successor in the abbacy of Iona, that he refused to take bishop's orders?

Presbyterian writers on St Columbkille.

[1] Baithen succeeded St. Columba in the abbacy of Iona.

[2] The remains of St. Brigid were transferred from Kildare to Downpatrick about 860.

[3] *Life of St. Columbkille*, i., 44.

[4] *Ibid.*

Why is it that he had a bishop living with him in Iona? How are we to explain the wonderful respect shown by him to bishops?[1] And how, in fine, are we to understand the remark of the Venerable Bede, that the government of the Scottish Church by the abbots of Iona was an "unusual arrangement"?[2]

[1] *Ibid.*, i. 55.

[2] "Habere autem solet ipsa insula rectorem semper abbatem presbyterem, cujus juri et omnis provincia et ipsi etiam episcopi *ordine inusitato* debeant esse subjecti juxta exemplum primi doctoris illius, qui non episcopus, sed presbyter exstitit et monachus." (*Hist. Eccl.*, iii. 4.)

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE CONVERSION OF THE TEUTONIC NATIONS.

Their origin.

THE Teutonic nations form one of the three great sections [1] into which the European branch of the Indo-Germanic, or Arian family is divided. They embrace—(*a*) the Germans, and (*b*) the Scandinavians. Before their conversion to Christianity, the Teutons had, like other pagan nations their long array of gods and goddesses. The chief deities recognised by the Germans were. Woutan, who gazes on earth, from his throne on high, and regulates the destinies of men; Hulda, the fearless huntress; and the sons of Woutan, viz., Thor and Tyr. The Scandinavians worshipped, as their chief gods, Odin, the creator of the world; Thor, the god of thunder; and Freyr, the god of generation: they had their heaven and their hell in their kingdoms of Walhalla and Hela.

Their religion before conversion.

A.—*Conversion of the Germans.*

§ 1.—*Conversion of the Germans that Migrated from Germany.*

Many of the German nations migrated from Germany during the early ages of the Church, and invaded different portions of the Roman Empire. They were the first to embrace Christianity. The chief of these nations were the Goths, the Lombards, the Vandals, the Franks, and the Anglo-Saxons.

[1] The other two being the Celts and Slavs.

(*a*) *The Goths.*—They settled down some time before the middle of the second century, in the territory lying to the north of the Black Sea. By degrees they extended their conquests westward along the Danube; and, about the middle of the fourth century, they were divided into two sections, viz., the Ostrogoths, or Eastern Goths, and the Visigoths, or Western Goths. It is not known with any certainty when the Gospel was first preached among them. It is most probable that it was made known to them during the third century, by the captives taken during the wars that were of such frequent occurrence between themselves and the Romans. It often happened that Christian soldiers were taken by the Goths; while many of the Goths who were taken by the Romans, were converted. In this way, both classes became the means of making known the truths of the Gospel among the Goths. It is certain that Christianity was introduced among them early in the fourth century, for we find that a Gothic bishop named Theophilus, was present at the Council of Nice, in 325.

The Goths.

Christianity made known among them.

Christianity, as at first preached among the Goths, was free from the errors of Arianism. This heresy was afterwards introduced among them by Ulfilas, their great apostle and the father of their literature. He was born about 312, and was most probably of Gothic descent. While still a pagan he visited Constantinople, shortly after the Council of Nice. During his stay there he was converted to Christianity, and embraced Arianism, then so prevalent in the East. Having returned to his native country, he was ordained lector, and discharged the duties of his office for some time.

Ulfilas the apostle of the Goths.

He was consecrated Bishop at Constantinople, in 348,

Embraced Arianism.

and continued to labour zealously for the conversion of his countrymen till his death, about 388.[1] Unfortunately, Christianity, as taught by him, was corrupted by the errors of Arianism, which he had learned at Constantinople. He conferred an inestimable boon on the Goths by inventing a Gothic alphabet, thereby reducing their language to written form, and by translating most of the Bible into their vernacular tongue.

Arianism among the Goths.

The Emperor Valens (364-375) contributed even more than Ulfilas to make Arianism the prevalent form of religion among the Goths. In 355, the Gothic King Athanaric began to persecute those of his subjects who had embraced Christianity; many of them, together with Ulfilas, crossed the Danube, and sought refuge within the limits of the Roman Empire. When Valens became emperor, he refused to tolerate them within his dominions, except on the condition of their embracing Arianism: in this way was Arianism forced on the Visigoths, who had crossed the Danube. From them it spread to the other Christian Visigoths, the Ostrogoths, and the Vandals. After the death of Theodosius the Great (395) the Visigoths and Ostrogoths became distinct nations; henceforth, their history must be treated under separate heads.

The Visigoths

The Visigoths, under their King Alaric, invaded Italy about the beginning of the fifth century, and took Rome, in 410. The city was given up to pillage for six days, but the soldiers were strictly forbidden to dishonour women or destroy religious buildings. They withdrew from Italy shortly after the pillage of Rome, and directed their steps westward. Having conquered the south of France and

[1] Rob. i. 303.

most of Spain, they permanently settled down in these countries, with Toulouse as their city. Under their King, Reccared (586-601), they gave up Arianism and embraced the orthodox faith. Their Church immediately entered on a period of great prosperity, which continued till the overthrow of their kingdom by the Saracens, in 711. Settled down in Spain.

The Ostrogoths made frequent incursions into the Roman Empire, under Theodoric (475-525), the greatest of their sovereigns. He succeeded in 488, in defeating and dethroning Odoacer,[1] King of Italy, and established an Ostrogothic kingdom in that country, with Rome, and sometimes Verona, as its capital. Though an Arian by profession, he treated the Church with toleration, till towards the end of his reign, when hearing of an edict issued by Justinian against the Arians of the East, he retaliated by persecuting the orthodox Christians within his dominions. Among those who were put to death for the faith the most remarkable were Pope John, who was cast into prison, where he died in 526, Symmachus, and Boethius. It was during his imprisonment that the last mentioned wrote his well known work, *On the Consolation of Philosophy*,[2] in which he describes so faithfully the instability of human happiness. *The Ostrogoths* under Theodoric. Theodoric persecutes the Nicene Christians.

(*b*) *The Lombards.*[3]—According to the most probable opinion they were so called from their long beards. They appear to have settled down some time before the Christian era to the north of the Danube, and west of the Visigothic *The Lombards.*

[1] He was king of the Heruli, a German tribe, by whom the Western Empire was destroyed in 476.

[2] The omission of any reference to Christ in this work has been frequently appealed to in recent times to prove that Boethius was not a Christian.

[3] In Latin *Longobardi.*

dominions. During the second, third, and fourth centuries they frequently engaged in wars with the Romans, and in this way became acquainted with the Christian religion. Towards the end of the fourth century they embraced Arianism, having learned it from their neighbours, the Visigoths; and about the middle of the sixth century, they crossed the Danube, and settled down in the Roman province of Pannonia. Under their King, Alboin, they invaded the north of Italy, which they conquered from the Emperor of the East, and gave it their own name. Here they established a kingdom, with Pavia as its capital. They soon extended their conquests over the whole of Italy, with the exception of the duchies of Rome, Naples, and Venice, and the exarchate of Ravenna. The Italians were treated by the conquerors as an inferior and subject race, excluded from all public offices of trust, and severely persecuted on account of their adherence to the orthodox faith.

Their conquests in Italy.

The persecution of the Italians for their faith ceased during the reign of Theodolinda, who was a Bavarian princess and an orthodox Christian. She married Antherus, King of the Lombards, and on his death, in 590, took the reins of government into her own hands. She rendered invaluable assistance to Gregory the Great in his efforts to convert the Lombards, and had the pleasure before her death of seeing nearly all of them orthodox Christians. The Lombard kingdom was finally destroyed by Charlemagne in 774, after it had lasted for more than two centuries.

The conversion of the Lombards under Theodolinda.

The Vandals. (*c*) *The Vandals.*—The early history of the Vandals, the cruelest of the German tribes, is similar to that of the Goths and the Lombards. During the second and third

centuries, they made frequent incursions into the Roman Empire, and thus became acquainted with Christianity; they afterwards imbibed the tenets of Arianism from the Goths. During the reign of Constantine, they settled down in Pannonia, where they remained for about seventy years. They set out early in the fifth century on a westward course, in company with other German tribes, and after ravaging Gaul for the space of three years, invaded Spain, and finally settled down in a part of Baetica, called after them Vandalitia (Andalusia). An event occurred in 429 which changed their scene of action. Certain charges of disloyalty had been brought against Count Boniface, the Roman Governor of Africa, on account of which he had been deposed. To revenge himself on his enemies, he invited the Vandals to assist him in establishing an independent authority in Africa. They gladly availed themselves of the opportunity thus offered of extending their conquests. They crossed the Straits of Gibraltar to the number of about 70,000 men, under their leader Genseric, and soon succeeded in establishing their supremacy over the whole of North Africa, against both the Romans and Count Boniface. The orthodox Christians were treated by them with the greatest cruelty. This policy of persecution continued throughout the reign of Genseric (427-477). Even Rome, the capital of the Christian world, was destined to experience the *Vandalism* of the Vandals. At the invitation of the Empress Eudoxia, who was anxious to avenge the murder of her husband Valentinian III. by the usurper Maximus, Genseric crossed the Mediterranean and advanced towards Rome at the head of a large army (455). Pope Leo the Great, encouraged by the success that attended his efforts to save Rome on a

In Pannonia.

In Spain.

In Africa.

In Rome.

former occasion,[1] advanced to meet the Vandal chief. But the only promise he could obtain was that the lives and honour of the Romans would be respected, and their public monuments spared. Rome was taken and given up to pillage for fourteen days, during which many beautiful works of art were destroyed or carried off by the victors. The Vandals continued to hold sway in Africa till their defeat by Belisarius, one of Justinian's generals, in 534.

The Franks.

(*d*) *The Franks.*—The German tribes that inhabited the country lying along the Rhine were known by the name of Franks. They made frequent incursions into the Roman territories in Gaul, during the third and fourth centuries; and thus first became acquainted with Christianity. They were divided into two sections, viz., the Salic and the Ripuarian Franks, each having their own government and laws. The former inhabited Holland and Belgium; and the latter lived on both sides of the Rhine south of the Moselle.

Clovis.

Clovis succeeded his father as chief of the Salic Franks, in 481; and having overthrown the Roman power in Gaul in a great battle fought near Soissons, in 486, established his authority over the whole of the territory lying to the north of the Loire, with Soissons as his chief town. Some of the Franks had been converted during their wars with the Romans; the great majority, however, of the nation, including the king, were still pagans. An incident occurred in 496, which was destined to terminate the sway of paganism among this people. In that year Clovis, who was married to a Christian princess of Burgundy, by whom

[1] The Huns under Attila laid siege to Rome in 451. Leo I. clothed in full pontificals appeared before him, and prevailed on him to withdraw his troops from the Eternal City.

his attention had been already directed to Christianity, was hard pressed by the Alemanni in a battle fought at Tolbiac, near Cologne; he appealed for assistance to the God of Clotilda, promising, at the same time, to become a Christian if victory should attend his arms. The Alemanni were defeated; and Clovis, faithful to his promise, became a Christian, and was baptized on the following festival of Christmas by Remigius, Archbishop of Rheims. His example was followed the same day by many thousands of the army, and shortly afterwards by the great majority of his subjects. He extended his kingdom southward to Bourdeaux and Toulouse; and, towards the end of his life, he took up his residence at Paris, where he died in 511. The French bishops, who met at Orleans the same year, bestowed on him the title of "Eldest son of the Church." He was the founder of the Merovingian, the first of the Frankish dynasties, which gave to France a number of weak and immoral rulers. This dynasty became extinct by the deposition of Childeric III., in 752.

Conversion of the Franks.

Clovis the "Eldest son of the Church," and founder of the Merovingian dynasty.

(*c*) *The Anglo-Saxons.*—We have already seen that there were Christians in Britain as early as the second century. The vast majority of the people had embraced the new faith before the end of the fourth century. But, in 449, the Saxons, a German tribe, came to Britain, under the command of the two brothers Hengist and Horsa, to assist the people of that country in repelling the attacks of the neighbouring Picts and Scots. Soon after their arrival they began to conduct themselves rather as rulers than as allies. They were soon followed by two other German tribes, the Angles and the Jutes. The Anglo-Saxons—for such is the name by which the confederate tribes are known in history—soon succeeded in establishing their authority

The Anglo-Saxons.

Their arrival in Britain.

over the most of Britain, and compelled the original inhabitants to retire to the mountainous countries of Wales and Scotland.

Britain paganized anew.

The new settlers were pagans, and visited with the severest punishment the profession of the Christian faith. About the middle of the sixth century, there was scarcely a trace of the old British Church to be found within the limits of the Heptarchy; Britain, or England, as it will be henceforth known, had been paganized anew. This condition of things continued till the pontificate of Gregory the Great (590-604), to whose zealous exertions the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons is principally due. We are told that while still a monk, he happened when walking one day through the Roman Forum, to see some Anglo-Saxon captives exposed for sale. He was much struck by their manly appearance; and, on hearing that they were still pagans, he instantly resolved to preach the Gospel among them. He was, however, prevented from carrying out his resolution by the entreaties of the Romans, who would not hear of his departing from among them. But what he failed to do by himself he succeeded in accomplishing through another, viz., St. Augustine, the Apostle of England.

Gregory the Great.

St. Augustine.

At the time he was selected for his important mission, he was abbot of the monastery of St. Andrew in Rome. He set out on his journey in A.D. 595, accompanied by forty monks. When they reached the south of France they were so discouraged by the accounts they heard of the fierce character of the Anglo-Saxons, and the difficulty of understanding their language, that they sent St. Augustine to Rome to dissuade the Pope from asking them to proceed on their journey.

St. Augustine's representations had no other effect on Gregory than to confirm him in his former determination. He sent St. Augustine back to his companions with orders to hasten to England, and gave him letters of introduction to many French bishops and princes. In obedience to the Pope's injunctions, they set out for England, and arrived on the Isle of Thanet, to the east of Kent, in the year 596. They were kindly received by Ethelbert, King of Kent, and Bretwalda[1] of the Heptarchy, who had already known something of Christianity through his Christian wife, Bertha, daughter of the King of Paris. He gave them permission to preach the Gospel among his subjects, and to make Canterbury, the capital of his kingdom, the centre of their missionary labours.

His arrival in England.

Ethelbert himself was among the first of their converts; and received baptism on the feast of Pentecost, 597. His example was soon followed by most of his subjects. We are told that as many as 10,000 received baptism on the following Christmas Day. St. Augustine, who was still a priest, went to France, in accordance with Pope Gregory's instructions, and was consecrated bishop by Virgilius, Archbishop of Arles. He sent messengers to Rome to inform the Pope of the success of his mission, and to ask for more labourers. Gregory was overjoyed at the good news, and sent (601) a fresh contingent of monks to England, among them being Mellitus and Justus, successively Archbishops of Canterbury, and Paulinus, the Apostle of Northumbria, bearing with them a large supply of books, relics, vestments, and a letter containing numerous instructions on ecclesiastical matters. He ordered that the

Conversion of Ethelbert.

St. Augustine consecrated bishop.

[1] Bretwalda was the name of the chief king of the Heptarchy,

Authorized to divide England into dioceses.

pagan temples should not be destroyed, but that they should be blessed and used as Christian churches; and authorized St. Augustine to establish twelve episcopal sees in the south of England, subject to himself as Archbishop of Canterbury; and as many in the north, subject to the Archbishop of York, who was, in turn, bound to render obedience to the Archbishop of Canterbury during his lifetime. Owing to the difficulty of introducing Christianity into many parts of the Heptarchy, St. Augustine found it impossible to carry out the diocesan division of England recommended by the Pope.

The British clergy of Wales.

St. Augustine appealed to the British clergy of Wales to assist in converting the Anglo-Saxons. To this appeal they turned a deaf ear, both because the Anglo-Saxons were their conquerors, and, especially, because there were some disciplinary points of difference between themselves and the new missionaries regarding baptism,[1] the form of ecclesiastical tonsure,[2] and the celebration of Easter. He had two conferences held in 603, between the representatives of the Welsh and Anglo-Saxon Churches for the purpose of settling these points of difference. But these conferences failed to effect any practical result; the Welsh bishops and monks obstinately refused to conform to the Roman observances, or to render any aid in the conversion of their heathen neighbours. St. Augustine foretold that a signal punishment would overtake them for their unchristian conduct. This prediction was soon fulfilled, for Ethelfrid, the pagan King of Northumbria, invaded

[1] According to the custom of the British Church, there was only one anointing in the administration of baptism, whereas the Roman custom required a twofold anointing.

[2] The British monks used the Celtic tonsure.

Wales, in 613, and put to the sword as many as 1,200 monks in the monastery of Bangor[1] alone.

The inhabitants of Kent and the East-Saxons were the only people of the Heptarchy converted to the faith before the death of St. Augustine. Soberet, King of the East-Saxons, was baptized about the year 603 by St. Mellitus, who became the first bishop of Anglo-Saxon London. Shortly before his death (605), St. Augustine appointed Laurence, one of his companions, to succeed him in the see of Canterbury.

Death of St. Augustine

The conversion of the Anglo-Saxons, begun so successfully by St. Augustine, was not completed till towards the end of the seventh century. Northumbria was converted by St. Paulinus, by whom King Edwin and a large number of his subjects were baptized in 626. York was made a metropolitan see, and Paulinus its first archbishop. Edwin was murdered, and his kingdom conquered by Penda, the heathen king of Mercia; and thus Northumbria was again thrown back into a state of Paganism. But Penda was in turn defeated (635) and slain by Oswald, the rightful heir to the throne of Northumbria. The latter, during his exile in Ireland,[2] had been converted to Christianity. After his restoration to his kingdom he invited Irish monks from Iona to come and preach the Gospel

The work begun by St. Augustine continued.

[1] In Flintshire: there was a town and a monastery of the same name in Carnarvonshire.

[2] Bede says (iii. c. 3) that he spent the time of his exile *among the Scots.* It is disputed whether he refers, as Lingard thinks (*Anglo-Saxon Church*, i.), to the British Scots of Scotland, or, as Dr. Lanigan says (*Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, ii. 417), to the Irish Scots. "It does not seem probable that Oswald or his Northumbrian relatives would have entrusted themseves to the protection of the British Scots, who were by no means friendly to that nation, and who must have felt sore at the signal defeat which they had received some years before from Oswald's father." Lanigan, ii. 418.

Irish missionaries in Northumbria.

among his subjects. The first to accept this invitation was Aidan, who on receiving episcopal consecration fixed his see at Lindisfarne, an island off the coast of Northumbria. This island was selected by him because of its resemblance to his own Iona. He was soon followed by other Irish missionaries, who assisted him in his labours in Northumbria, and soon succeeded in establishing Christianity on a firm basis in that kingdom. He died in 651, and was succeeded by three Irishmen, viz., Finan (651-660), Colman (660-663), and Teuda (663-664). The bishops of Lindisfarne exercised jurisdiction over the whole of Northumbria.

The kingdom of East Anglia was converted about 632. Its conversion was a consequence of the authority which Edwin of Northumbria exercised over it as Bretwalda.

The Conversion of Anglo-Saxons completed.

The West-Saxons were converted about 636, by a separate mission, sent from Rome. Mercia became Christian after its king, Peada, the son of Penda, on becoming son-in-law of Oswy,[1] had embraced Christianity (650). The South-Saxons were the last of the Anglo-Saxons to embrace the faith. Their conversion was chiefly due to the preaching of Wilfrid, Archbishop of York, who resigned his see in 680, and went to labour among them.

The appointment of Theodore, a native of Tarsus, to the see of Canterbury, in 669, forms an epoch in the history of the Anglo-Saxon Church. He was a very learned man, and was well versed in the knowledge of ecclesiastical law. During the twenty-one years of his episcopate (669-690) he introduced many reforms. Up to this time

[1] He was brother of Oswald, and his successor in the kingdom of Northumbria.

there had been only one diocese in each kingdom, with the exception of Kent, in which there had been two; but Theodore, having been invested with jurisdiction over the whole country, increased the number of dioceses, following as closely as possible the plan which St. Augustine had intended to carry out. The division of Northumbria into three dioceses caused a dispute between himself and St. Wilfrid, who, as Archbishop of York, exercised jurisdiction over the whole of that kingdom; it was this that led to the resignation of the latter. He held Councils in which various laws were passed for the reformation of abuses and the spread of education; visited every part of England; and is generally credited with having introduced the parochial system into that country. Finally he founded schools for the education of the clergy, and contributed to the spread of monasticism in England.

Organization of the English Church.

Conversion of the Germans within the Limits of Germany.

The conversion of the Germans who did not cross the Danube or the Rhine was effected with much difficulty, owing to local associations, to their peculiar notions of human liberty, independence, and revenge, which were totally at variance with the teaching of the Gospel, and to their opposition to foreign, and, above all, to Roman missionaries. It cannot be said to have begun in earnest until about the beginning of the seventh century, and was not completed till early in the ninth.

Obstacles to their conversion.

The first missionaries that preached the Gospel among them were Irishmen, the most noted being SS. Fridolin, Columbanus, Gall, Kilian, and Livinus.

Irish missionaries.

St. Fridolin was of noble descent. The place and time, of his birth are not known; even the century in which he

was born is a subject of dispute. It is most probable that he flourished during the first half of the seventh century. Having consecrated himself to God in the ecclesiastical state, and preached for some time in Ireland, he set out for France, and entered the monastery of St. Hilary at Poitiers, of which he was after a short time elected abbot. He soon abandoned his monastic home to preach the Gospel to the Alemanni,[1] who inhabited the south-western portion of Germany. Having spent many years in labouring among them, he retired to the island of Sackingen, in the Rhine, a short distance above Basle. Here he built a monastery and a church, and spent the last days of his life in holy seclusion and peace with God.

St. Fridolin preaches among the Alemanni.

St. Columbanus was born in the province of Leinster, about 540. At an early age he entered the celebrated monastery of Bangor, in Down, then presided over by its founder, St. Comgall. Here he spent many years in study and the practice of piety, preparing for his future mission. He set out for the Continent in 589,[2] accompanied by twelve monks. On arriving in Gaul, he found that the decayed state of religion in that country offered ample field for the exercise of his zeal. At the request of Gontram, King of Burgundy, he selected the Vosges as the scene of his labours. Here he founded the three monasteries of Anegray, Luxeuil, and Fontaines. The austere and holy lives led by the monks of these monasteries made a deep impression on the people of the district, and under their influence religion soon began to revive.

St. Columbanus.

His labours in France.

During his stay here he engaged in a controversy with

[1] Some of the Alemanni had embraced Christianity after their defeat by Clovis, in 511.

[2] Lan., ii., 265; Dr. Healy (p. 373) makes 575 the date of his arrival in Gaul.

some French bishops regarding the celebration of Easter. They endeavoured to make him conform to the Roman custom, which was then observed throughout the French Church. This he refused to do. He wrote a letter to Gregory the Great, in 599, asking him to settle the point in dispute between himself and the bishops; but it was never delivered. He wrote a second to a Synod of French bishops, held about 602, defending the Irish mode of celebrating Easter; and a third, about 606, to the Pope then reigning,[1] asking him to protect him from annoyance by the French clergy; he, at the same time, forwarded a copy of the letter that he had previously sent to Gregory.[2]

Dispute with French bishops about Easter.

After labouring for about twenty years in Burgundy, he incurred the displeasure of the king, Theodoric II., and was obliged to take his departure from that country. The King had been leading a life of indolence and sensuality; and was encouraged by his grandmother, who was anxious to retain her influence in the kingdom, not to marry, but continue in his former mode of life. For this she was severely reprimanded by St. Columbanus, who immediately became the object of her hostility. He shortly afterwards refused to bless the King's illegitimate children, upon which Theodoric was so much incensed, that he issued orders to have both himself and his monks brought to Nantes, and sent to their own country by the first vessel that should sail from that port. The King's orders were executed; but the vessel on which they embarked was not

Theodoric orders Columbanus to quit his kingdom.

[1] It is uncertain whether it was Sabinian (604-605), Boniface III. (606), or Boniface IV. (606-614), to whom this letter was addressed.

[2] See Lanigan, ii. 270.

long out at sea before a violent storm arose which drove it back to port. St. Columbanus and his companions, being once more free to select their own course, set out for Switzerland, where they spent nearly two years in preaching the Gospel. But, even here, they were not beyond the reach of Theodoric. He conquered the country, in 612; and, to avoid the anger of his enemy, St. Columbanus withdrew to Italy, where he was kindly received by Agilulph and Theolinda. It was after his arrival in Italy that he wrote his celebrated epistle to Pope Boniface IV., against some who still defended the orthodoxy of the *Three Chapters*. The letter contains a clear proof of the flourishing condition of the early Irish Church, and of her belief in the supremacy of the See of Rome. "For we Irish," he says, in concluding his letter, "are disciples of St. Peter and St. Paul, and of all the divinely-inspired canonical writers, adhering constantly to the faith and apostolic doctrine. Among us neither Jew, heretic, nor schismatic can be found; but the Catholic faith, entire and unshaken, precisely as we have received it from you, who are the successor of the holy apostles. For, as I have already said, we are attached to the chair of Peter; and, although Rome is great and renowned, with us it is great and renowned only on account of that apostolic chair. Through the two Apostles of Christ, ye are almost celestial, and *Rome is the head of the Churches of the world.*"[1] He founded the celebrated monastery of Bobbio, in 613; here he spent the remainder of his days in penance and prayer, and died at an advanced age, in 615.

He preaches in Switzerland.

He goes to Italy.

His letter to Boniface IV.

[1] *Bibliotheca Patrum*, xii.

St. Gall, the most famous of the disciples of St. Columbanus, was born in the year 550; and at early age entered the monastery of Bangor. Here he became acquainted with St. Columbanus, and was one of the twelve who accompanied the latter to France, and afterwards to Switzerland. When St. Columbanus went to Italy, in 612, St. Gall was prevented from accompanying him by a severe attack of sickness. Nor did he follow his master when he recovered; he continued to labour among the people of Switzerland. And so successful was his preaching, that he has merited the title of apostle of that country; and his name is perpetuated there by the Canton of St. Gall. He died at the advanced age of ninety-five years, in 645.

St. Gall, companion of St. Columbanus and apostle of Switzerland.

St. Kilian, the apostle of Franconia, was an Irishman by birth. After receiving episcopal consecration he set out for the Continent in 686, accompanied by a number of missionaries. He directed his steps towards Franconia, where paganism still prevailed, resolving to devote his life to the conversion of the people of this country. But, before commencing his missionary labours, he went to Rome to receive the blessing and approval of the Vicar of Christ. On his return to Franconia he laboured zealously for the conversion of its inhabitants, and made numerous converts, among them their Duke Gusbert. The latter shortly afterwards contracted an incestuous alliance with Geilana, his brother's wife. This was an open violation of the laws of marriage, for which he was severely censured by St. Kilian. The Duke resolved to get rid of Geilana; but when she heard of his intention, she had Kilian and his companions murdered, in 688, during the Duke's absence on a military expedition.

St. Kilian, apostle of Franconia.

St. Livinus in Belgium.

St. Livinus,[1] an Irish bishop of the seventh century resigned his see, and set out for Belgium with three companions, to preach the Gospel to the pagan inhabitants of that country. After spending many years labouring among them, he was put to death in a village near Hauthen, in 656.

Missionaries from other countries.

The Irish missionaries received valuable assistance from the missionaries of other countries in their efforts to convert the Germans. Thus, St. Amandus, Bishop of Strasburg, resigned his see in 630, and went to preach the Gospel among the pagan inhabitants of Belgium. Innumerable difficulties were thrown in his way; but he persevered in his labour of love, and made many converts in the districts about Tournay and Ghent. He died, about 680, in a monastery near Tournay. St. Eligius, at first a goldsmith, and afterwards Bishop of Noyons (640-659), made many converts among the Frisians[2] in the neighbourhood of the Scheldt. And St. Willibrord, an Anglo-Saxon priest, who had been educated in Ireland, was commissioned by Pope Sergius I. (687-701), in the year 692, to preach the Gospel among the Western Frisians, who had been recently conquered by Pepin of Heristal. He went to Rome a second time in 696, and was consecrated Archbishop of Utrecht. He also extended his labours to that part of Frisia that had not been yet conquered, but with little

St. Amandus.

St. Eligius.

St. Willibrord.

[1] He is said by some to have been Archbishop of Dublin. The statement, however, appears devoid of any historical authority. See Brennan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland* (new ed.), 200; and D'Alton's *Archbishops of Dublin*, 7.

[2] The Frisians were a Teutonic tribe inhabiting the north-west of Germany. They occupied the countries known at present as Holland and Belgium, and those territories lying to the west of the Weser. The Western Frisians lived to the west of the Zuider Zee, while the Eastern Frisians lived to the east of it.

success. He died in the year 739. In addition to the three missionaries just mentioned, many others preached among the Frisians. The Eastern Frisians were not converted till after their conquest by Charlemagne, in 785.

Most of the missionaries who had preached the Gospel in Germany before the end of the seventh century, confined their labours to particular countries. As yet no proper organization had been introduced among the different churches of the country. But during the eighth century a great missionary made his appearance in the person of St. Boniface, who completed what those who had gone before him had begun by converting many peoples who were still walking in the darkness of their errors, and establishing the Church of Germany on a permanent basis by the introduction of a regular ecclesiastical organisation. St. Boniface.

Boniface, or Winfrid, for such was his original name, was born at Kirton, in Devonshire, about 680. Though he was English by birth, it is most probable that he was Irish by descent.[1] He received his early education in the monasteries of Exeter and Nutscelle ; and was ordained priest at the age of thirty. His birth and nationality.

In 716 his missionary career began. In that year, accompanied by two monks, he set out to preach the Gospel to the Frisians; but war having broken out between themselves and Charles Martel, he was obliged to desist from his undertaking, and returned to his monastery at Nutscelle. He went to Rome in the following year, and was kindly received by Gregory II., by whom he

[1] He is frequently styed Scotus, *i.e.*, a native of Ireland, by Marianus, Scotus, a distinguished Irish scholar of the eleventh century, who spent many years in Fulda and Mayence, the two places most intimately associated with the name of St. Boniface. See *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, March, 1884.

He preaches to the Frisians.

was commissioned to preach the Gospel among the Germans. He took his departure from Rome in 718, and, on arriving in Thuringia, he heard that the Frisians had been defeated by Charles Martel; so he determined to renew his labours among them. He joined Willibrord, and continued to assist him in preaching the Gospel for three years (719-722). Willibrord was anxious to have Boniface as his successor in the see of Utrecht; but Boniface refused to accept the dignity. He went to Hesse early in the year 722, and within a very short time succeeded in converting most of the people of that country.

Labours in Hesse.

On hearing of Boniface's success among the Germans, Gregory II. (715-731) summoned him to Rome, and having consecrated him bishop, appointed him regionary of all the churches of Germany.[1] It is generally supposed that it was on this occasion that his name was changed from Winfrid to Boniface; some, however, think that the change occurred at the time of his religious profession. After his consecration he returned to Germany, and continued to labour there with renewed energy for the spread of Christianity till within a short time of his death. He went from one place to another; wherever he was required, there was he to be found.

The Pallium sent to him by Gregory III.

Gregory II. died in 731, and was succeeded by Gregory III. Boniface immediately despatched messengers to Rome to renew his allegiance to the new Pope, and received in return the Archbishop's pallium. In 742 he founded the famous monastery of Fulda, which he intended to be a nursery of holy missionaries who would preach

[1] He was required to take the oath of allegiance to the Holy See.

the Gospel to the pagan nations, especially to the neighbouring Saxons. He presided the same year at the first German Synod, in which many useful disciplinary measures were passed—among others, that synods should be held annually. He divided each country into a number of dioceses; and, at the request of an assembly of the nation, he established the Metropolitan See at Mayence in 746, though his own predilection was in favour of Cologne.

First German Synod.

Selects Mayence as the Metropolitan See.

Finding that his life was drawing to a close, Boniface resolved to make a final effort to convert the Eastern Frisians. He asked, and obtained from Pope Zachary I., (741-752) permission to resign his see, and set out for Friesland, on his mission of charity. Shortly after his arrival in that country, he and some of his companions were set upon, and murdered by some unconverted Frisians (755).

His Martyrdom.

Boniface engaged in a controversy with a celebrated Irishman, named Virgilius, Bishop of Salzburg, in Bavaria, regarding the validity of the following form of baptism, used by a minister who was ignorant of Latin: *Baptizo te in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritua Sancta.* Boniface held that it was invalid, and ordered that baptism should be repeated in all cases in which it had been used. Virgilius refused to accept this decision, and appealed to Zachary, who was Pope at the time. The Pope decided[1] in favour of Virgilius, on the ground that, though the minister's Latin was faulty, it was substantially correct, and the false interpretation to which it was liable was excluded by his orthodoxy. When Boniface found that the controverted

Controversy between St Boniface and St. Virgilius.

[1] "Sed sanctissime frater, si ille qui baptizavit non errorem introducens aut haeresim, sed pro sola ignorantia Romanae locutionis infringendo linguam, ut supra fati sumus, baptisans dixissit, non possumus consentire ut denuo baptizentur." Ep. vii., Migne's *Latin Patrol.*, lxxxix. 929.

question had been decided in favour of his rival, he brought a number of charges against the latter—among others, that he taught the existence of the antipopes. The Pope said, in reply,[1] that if it could be proved that Virgilius held the existence of another world under the earth, and of *a distinct race of men for whom Christ did not die*, a Synod should be convened, and that he should be excommunicated. It is clear from the Pope's letter that he misunderstood the teaching of Virgilius, either because it had been misrepresented by Boniface, or for some other reason, as it did not imply the existence of *a race of men excluded from the fruits of Redemption*. It is most probable that Virgilius, on hearing of the false doctrine attributed to him, wrote to the Pope to explain his views, for he retained his see till his death; and we have no record of this or any other charge being afterwards repeated against him.

The conversion of the Saxons.

The Saxons were the last of the German tribes to embrace Christianity. Various attempts were made to convert them during the eighth century; but with little or no success. It was not till they were completely subjugated by Charlemagne, after a war lasting, with some intervals of peace, for over thirty years (772-805), that they consented as a nation to embrace Christianity. The sword was freely used in the propagation of the Gospel among them; they were ever ready to avail themselves of the first opportunity to throw off their

[1] "De perversa autem et iniqua doctrina ejus, qui contra Deum et animam suam locutus est, si clarificatum fuerit ita eum confiteri quod alius mundus, et alii homines sub terra sint, seu sol et luna, hunc, habito consilio ab ecclesia pelle, sacerdotii honore privatum." Ep. xi., *Latin Patrol.*, lxxxix 946.

allegiance to Charlemagne, as well as to Christianity, which was rendered hateful to them by the means used to effect their conversion. After their final conquest, in 805, they remained faithful to the Church. Eight episcopal sees were established among them by Charlemagne, with the authority of the Pope, viz., Osnabruck, Munster, Halberstadt, Verden, Bremen, Hildesheim, Paderborn, and Minden.

B.—*Conversion of the Scandinavian Nations.*

The Scandinavian nations embraced (*a*) the inhabitants of Sweden and Norway; (*b*) the inhabitants of Denmark, which formed a part of Scandinavia, as generally understood, during the Middle Ages; and (*c*) those adventurers who set out from their homes in Scandinavia during the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and invaded other countries under the different names of Danes, Norsemen, and Eastmen. The Scandinavian nations.

The first attempt to introduce Christianity into Scandinavia appears to have been made about 822, when Harold King of Denmark, having been deposed by his subjects, appealed to Louis of France to interfere in his behalf. Louis sent ambassadors to Denmark to effect a reconciliation between Harold and his subjects. The embassy resulted in the restoration of the deposed King. Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, thinking this a favourable opportunity for introducing Christianity among the pagan inhabitants of that country, proceeded thither, accompanied by a few monks. But so great was the opposition offered to them, that at the end of a year they abandoned their project, and returned to France. Ebbo preaches the Gospel in Denmark.

Harold was again deposed in 826. He turned to Louis

Harold, King of Denmark, resolves to bring about the conversion of his subjects.

for assistance, and went to Metz, where the French King was then staying. While here, himself, his wife, and his attendants, embraced Christianity and received baptism. He resolved to bring about, if possible, the conversion of his subjects, as the best means for securing the stability of his throne, and asked Louis to send missionaries to preach the Gospel among them. Owing to the failure of Ebbo's mission, very few were willing to offer their services. There was, however, one found, who, though young, possessed all the qualities of a great missionary. This was the great St. Ansgar, the apostle of the North.

St. Ansgar, the apostle of the North.

Ansgar was born in the year 801, in the diocese of Amiens, in France. He was educated in the monastery of Corbie, where he afterwards embraced the religious state, and taught for some time. In 822, he went to New Corbie, in Germany, so called after the mother house in France. Here he spent his time in teaching, till 826, when he offered himself to the abbot of the monastery to preach the Gospel

Preaches in Denmark.

in Denmark. Accompanied by a monk named Autbert, who was the only one who would consent to go with him, he set out on his mission to the North, in 827. His labours were at first most successful: he made numerous converts, and founded a school at Hadeby, for the education of candidates for the priesthood. But, in 828, his mission was temporarily interrupted by the deposition of the King, on account of his having embraced the Christian faith; and all the Christian missionaries were forced to depart from the kingdom.

Preaches in Sweden.

If, however, one field of labour was thus suddenly closed against him, another was providentially opened. An embassy sent from Sweden, in 829, to the French court, represented that there were some Christians in that

country [1] who were anxious to have priests to instruct them in their religion. He immediately embraced the opportunity of preaching the kingdom of Christ in that distant country. Accompanied by a monk named Witmar—his former companion had just died at Corbie—he set out on his new mission, in 829; and having obtained permission from the King of Sweden to preach the Gospel to his subjects, he continued to labour among them with much success for a year and a-half.

Appointed Archbishop of Hamburg (831).

He returned to France in 831, and was appointed the same year Archbishop of Hamburg by Gregory IV., with full jurisdiction over all the North. He established there a monastery and school to prepare labourers for the missions in Denmark and Sweden. Hamburg, however, having been taken by the Danes, about 836, and burned to the ground, St. Ansgar was obliged to flee. He was afterwards sent by Louis to Eric, King of Denmark, on various political missions; and so successfully did he conduct them, that he obtained permission, in 850, to preach the Gospel and build churches throughout the kingdom.

The legal recognition of Christianity in Sweden.

He again visited Sweden, in 853; but only to find that all the churches had been destroyed during a popular tumult. He appealed to the King to allow the Christians to rebuild their churches and to practise their religion. The King convened a national assembly, which decided to tolerate Christianity. This happy result was due partly to the casting of lots which was favourable to the Christians, and partly to the advice of an aged and venerable member

[1] It is said that the knowledge of the Christian religion was first introduced into Sweden through intercourse between that country and the Byzantine Empire. Rob. iii. 471.

of the assembly, who appealed to the power displayed by the God of the Christians in delivering them from dangers, especially from the dangers of the sea. After Christianity had been thus publicly sanctioned, it made rapid progress through the country. Having spent thirty-five years in labouring among the Danes and Swedes, he was attacked by a violent fever, which continued for four months, and resulted in his death (865).

Rimbert.

He was succeeded in the see of Hamburg by his co-labourer, Rimbert,[1] who carried on the good work which he had begun. Christianity had many difficulties to contend with, both in Denmark and Sweden, for a long time after the death of St. Ansgar. It was finally established on a firm basis, in the former country, by Canute the Great (1014-1030); and in the latter, by St. Eric (1155-1160).

Christianity among the Norwegians.

The Norwegians obtained their first knowledge of Christianity during the incursions which they frequently made into other countries. It did not, however, make much headway among them till the reign of Hacon the Good (936-951). He was brought up at the court of King Athelstan, in England, where he received baptism and a good Christian education. On becoming King of Norway, he practised his religion at first in private, till he had gained over to his side many of the leading men of the country. He then openly professed Christianity, and proposed at a national assembly that all his subjects should embrace the same religion. They were unwilling to desert the ancient worship of the country, and threatened to depose the King if he abandoned it. Hacon was not

Hacon the Good.

[1] Rimbert wrote a biography of St. Ansgar, which is the great authority on his life.

proof against the popular indignation; he consented to the admission of many pagan rites into the exercises of the Christian religion. Christianity was not firmly established in Norway till the reign of St. Olav (1019-1033).

The Scandinavians who emigrated to other countries were more easily converted than those who remained at home. Thus, the Danes residing in England and Ireland, embraced Christianity during the ninth and tenth centuries. Many of them harassed the northern territories of France, during the eighth and ninth centuries, under the name of Normans; and finally settled down in a district to which they gave the name of Normandy. Their chief, Rolo, consented to receive the conquered territory as a fief from the King of France. One of the conditions required of him was that he should become a Christian. With this condition he complied, and changed his name from Rollo to Robert. His example was soon followed by his countrymen. Whatever was strong in their character was refined and elevated by the influence of Christianity; and, in an incredibly short time, the Norman Church became a great centre of intellectual culture and missionary activity.

The Scandinavians in England, Ireland, and France.

CHAPTER XXVII.

THE PASCHAL CONTROVERSY IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

Decree of the Council of Nice about Easter.

THE Council of Nice,[1] by declaring in favour of the Roman custom of celebrating Easter, determined not only the day of the week on which it was to fall, but also, to some extent, the Sunday; for, according to the Roman usage, the Feast of Easter was celebrated on the Sunday following the 14th of Nisan, provided the latter did not precede the vernal equinox.[2] The fathers of Nice did not, however, adopt any rule for fixing the first day of the lunar month of Nisan. Hence there was still room for a difference of usage, even among those who accepted the decision of the Council of Nice.

Lunar cycles.

It had been well known from the earliest times that, after a certain number of years, the new moons begin to recur on the same days of the year as during the last cycle. But the number of years required to complete a

[1] Constantine, in his letter to the Churches of Christendom, announcing the decision of the Council, says: "At this meeting the question concerning the most holy Feast of Easter was discussed, and it was resolved by the unanimous judgment of those present, that this feast ought to be kept by all, and in every place, on one and the same day. For what can be more becoming or honourable to us than that this Feast, from which we date our hopes of immortality, should be observed unfailingly by all alike, according to one ascertained order and arrangement. . . . It has been decided to follow the practice observed at Rome and in Africa, throughout Italy and in Egypt," &c. Euseb., *Vita Const.*, iii. 18, 19.

[2] According to the Jewish mode of computation, the 14th of Nisan did sometimes precede the vernal equinox.

lunar cycle was a subject of dispute. Thus, according to the Jews, it consisted of eighty-four years; while the Alexandrians, who were much better versed in astronomy, made it contain only nineteen. After the Council of Nice, the Church of Alexandria used the Metonic cycle of nineteen years in fixing the first day of Nisan and the festival of Easter; while the Romans used the cycle of eighty-four years, and continued to use it till 457, when a new cycle of five hundred and thirty-two years, drawn up by Victorinus of Aquitaine, was introduced. The new cycle continued to be used at Rome till about 525, when the Alexandrian cycle of nineteen years, as corrected by Dionysius Exiguus, was adopted.

The Jewish cycle introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick.

The cycle introduced into Ireland by St. Patrick was the Jewish, which was then used at Rome and throughout the Western Church. The same cycle had been introduced among the Britons by the early missionaries who preached the Gospel among them. There was, however, one point on which the Irish and Britons differed from the Romans; the former observed Easter on the 14th of Nisan, when it happened to be a Sunday; the latter never celebrated the festival before the 16th. This peculiarity was the foundation for the statement,[1] sometimes made, that the Irish and the Britons were *Quartodecimans*, and that they were evangelized by missionaries from Asia Minor.

The Britons and Irish not Quarto-decimans.

That the Britons were not Quartodecimans, is clear from the letter[2] written by Constantine the Great after the Council of Nice, in which he mentions them as agreeing with the Romans in the custom of celebrating Easter on

[1] The statement was made, for instance, by the Roman clergy in their letter to Thomian, Archbishop of Armagh, in 640.

[2] Eusebius, *Vita Const.*, iii. 19.

Sunday; and the Venerable Bede[1] states the Irish were not Quartodecimans. The most plausible explanation of the British and Irish custom of celebrating Easter on the 14th of Nisan is that given by Dr. Lanigan.[2] In the cycle of eighty-four years each lunation was too short by two minutes and some seconds; this mistake accumulating for one hundred years would amount to about two days. In 325, the year in which the Council of Nice was held, the full moon fell on the 14th of Nisan; a century later, however, it fell on the 16th, though it was really the 14th, as the moon was then only fourteen days old. Sulpitius Severus, who flourished early in the fifth century, asked: If the 16th of Nisan be really the 14th, why not call it so? The change which he recommended was adopted in parts of France, from which it was introduced into England and Ireland; and thus the celebration of Easter on the 14th of Nisan in the latter countries was due to the errors in the Jewish cycle.

St. Augustine attempts to introduce the new cycle among the Welsh clergy.

The first effort to introduce the Metonic cycle into the British Isles was made by St. Augustine. We have already seen that he held two conferences with the representatives of the British clergy of Wales for the purpose of inducing them to conform to the Roman customs on certain disciplinary points—among others, on the question of Easter—but that his efforts were unsuccessful. The Welsh clergy steadfastly adhered to their own custom till the middle of the eighth century, when they finally consented to follow the example of other parts of the British Isles, and adopt the Roman cycle.

No attempt appears to have been made to introduce

[1] *Eccl. Hist.*, iii. c. 4. [2] ii. 384.

the new cycle into Ireland before 610. In that year St. Dogan, an Irish bishop, happened to be in England; he refused to eat at the same table, or stay under the same roof[1] with Laurentius Mellitus, Archbishop of Canterbury, and other Roman bishops, because they followed the Roman style of celebrating Easter. Shortly afterwards a letter[2] was addressed by the latter to the Irish clergy, asking them to adopt the new cycle. Some expressed their willingness to receive it for the sake of uniformity; but the vast majority of the priests and people refused to give up the cycle handed down to them from St. Patrick.

St. Dogan in England.

It is most likely that the English bishops brought the matter under the notice of the Holy See; for Pope Honorius wrote to the Irish bishops, in 629, admonishing them to adopt the new cycle. In the following year, a Synod was held at Old Leighlin, which was largely attended by bishops and abbots: according to Cummian,[3] the Bishop of Emly presided.[4] St. Laserian, Abbot of Old Leighlin, argued strenuously in support of the Roman custom. Fintan Munnu, Abbot of Taghmon in Wexford, was equally strong in favour of the old cycle introduced by St. Patrick. Seeing that unanimity could not be secured among those present, it was resolved, in accordance with a canon of St. Patrick which was read at the Synod, to refer

Letter of Pope Honorius to the Irish bishops.

[1] Bede, ii. c. 4.

[2] Only a fragment of this letter has been preserved; but it is clear from the fragment that the writers looked on the Irish as Quartodecimans. The only foundation for the charge was, as we have seen, that they celebrated Easter on the 14th of Nisan, if it happened to be a Sunday.

[3] Abbot of Kilcomin in King's County; not the same as Cummineus Albus, Abbot of Iona. The former wrote a celebrated Paschal Epistle to Segenius, Abbot of Hy, about 634, in defence of the Roman cycle.

[4] Brennan, *Eccl. Hist. of Ireland*, 101.

the question to Rome.[1] Representatives of each side were accordingly selected and sent to the Eternal City, "as children to their mother."[2] After three years' absence they returned to Ireland, and reported that they had seen people from all countries celebrating Easter on the same day; and that the Roman cycle was used throughout the world. Upon which Cummian remarks in his *Paschal Epistle:* "Can anything more pernicious be conceived about the mother-Church, than to say: Rome errs; Jerusalem errs. Antioch errs, the whole world errs; the Scots and Britons alone are right?" The Roman cycle was immediately adopted through the whole of Munster, the greater part of Leinster, and the most of Connaught.[3]

The Paschal controversy in Ulster.

Most of the clergy of the north of Ireland obstinately refused to receive the new cycle. Their obstinacy was chiefly owing to the influence of the Columbian monks in that province. The latter were most unwilling to abandon a cycle used by their founder and by so many holy men; some of them, however, adopted the new cycle. A controversy ensued between the two parties, which soon became so heated that Thomian, Archbishop of Armagh, deemed it prudent to refer the matter again to Rome. He wrote a letter to the Pope, in 638, setting forth the points in dispute. In the reply,[4] which did not arrive till 640, those who still adhered to the old cycle were charged with being Quartodecimans,

[1] "Ut si causae fuerint majores juxta decretum synodicum ad caput urbium referantur." Cum., *Pasch. Let.*

[2] *Ibid.*

[3] Bede, ii. c. 3.

[4] This reply was written by the Roman clergy charged with the administration of the Church during the vacancy of the Holy See, between the death of Severinus and the consecration of John IV. (Dec. 24th, 640).

and were ordered to conform to the Roman custom. Notwithstanding this injunction, the majority of the people of Ulster continued to adhere to the old cycle, till about 704, when, owing to the exertions of Adamnan, Abbot of Hy, the Roman cycle was adopted throughout that province.

The Paschal controversy in Northumbria.

In no place was the disagreeable consequences of a difference in the observance of Easter so much felt as in Northumbria. Here, some were observing the Lenten fast, while others of the same family were enjoying the paschal festivities. Such was the case, for instance, in the royal household. Oswy observed the cycle which he had learned from his Irish preceptors; while his wife adhered to the Roman cycle, to which she had been accustomed during her stay in the south of England, where she had been educated.[1] This difference of usage prevailed throughout the whole of Northumbria, and was traceable to the two classes of missionaries by whom Christianity was preached in that country. It was first preached there by Paulinus, and other missionaries from Rome who introduced the new cycle. Their country was shortly afterwards conquered by the pagan King of Mercia, who left no means untried to extirpate the Christian religion. When Oswald reconquered the country, Irish missionaries, under St. Aidan, evangelised it again, and introduced the cycle observed in Iona, whence they came.

Two cycles observed.

A controversy broke out between the advocates of the two cycles during the Episcopate of St. Aidan. It continued under his successor, St. Finan; and became so serious during the incumbency of St. Colman, that Oswy, the brother and successor of Oswald, found it necessary to

[1] Bede, iii. 25.

Synod of Whitby.

hold a Synod to put an end to it. The Synod was held at Whitby, in 663. St Colman and the other Irish missionaries present argued strongly in favour of the old cycle; while Agilbert, Bishop of the West Saxons, and two priests named Agathon and Wilfrid defended the Roman cycle. After various arguments had been advanced by both sides in defence of their views, Wilfrid appealed, in support of the Roman custom, to our Lord's promise to bestow on St. Peter "the keys of the kingdom of heaven." King Oswy, who was present, asked St. Colman whether these words had been addressed to the Apostle. On St. Colman admitting that they had been, and that no similar grant was made to St. Columbkille, the King decided in favour of the Roman custom. "I tell you," said he, "that Peter is the door-keeper whom I will not gainsay, lest, perchance, if I make him my enemy, by disregarding his statutes, there should be no one to open the door of heaven to me."[1] St. Colman and the other ecclesiastics who refused to abide by the royal decision, withdrew from Northumbria, and went to Ireland. Teuda, an Irishman, succeeded to the see vacated by St. Colman. He was in favour of the Roman cycle, as he had been educated in the south of Ireland, where it was used since 633. Teuda did not survive his appointment long; he died in 634, and was succeeded by Wilfrid, who fixed his see at York.

St. Colman departs from Northumbria.

New cycle adopted in Iona.

Adamnan, Abbot of Iona, endeavoured to introduce the new cycle into his monastery; but he failed in his efforts. He then withdrew to the North of Ireland, where, as we have seen, his efforts were crowned with success. The change, which Adamnan failed to bring about among

[1] Bede, iii. c. 25.

the monks of Iona, was effected, about 716, by Egbert, an English monk, who had been educated in Ireland.

The other points[1] of dispute between the Roman missionaries and the British and Irish clergy were settled in each country in favour of the Roman custom simultaneously with the adoption of the new cycle.

The Paschal controversy no argument against Papal supremacy.

The Paschal controversy, while affording a remarkable illustration of the tenacity with which the Irish people clung to the traditions of their Church, supplies no argument, as some Protestant writers maintain, against their belief in Papal supremacy. On the contrary, the canon of St. Patrick, quoted at the Synod of Old Leighlin, and the subsequent deputation sent to Rome, place the belief of the Irish people in the Primacy of the Holy See beyond the region of doubt. In some parts of Ireland the people held out for some time against the wish of Rome, because of their attachment to St. Patrick and St. Columbkille. They looked on the question in dispute as a purely disciplinary one which admitted a difference of observance, consistently with the requirements of Catholic unity. They did not, however, persist in their opposition; for, after a short time, they all yielded, showing thereby that they acknowledged the supremacy of the Roman See.

[1] Regarding the form of tonsure, and the twofold anointing in baptism.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

PONTIFICATE OF GREGORY THE GREAT (590-604).

THE pontificate of Gregory the Great is deserving of special attention, both because of the character of the man, and of the important events in which he played a prominent part. He was remarkable as a saint, as a scholar, and as a churchman; and it may be truly said that, since the days of the Apostles, no one contributed so much as he did to impress the marks of his energy and greatness on almost every department of Church government.

Early life of Gregory.

He was born of an illustrious family at Rome, about the year 540, and received a good education in his native city. His integrity and literary attainments recommended him to everyone with whom he came in contact. At an early age, he was appointed to the important office of Pretor of Rome; but he soon felt that he was called by God to a higher and holier sphere. He accordingly resigned the office at the age of thirty-five, and devoted all his wealth to works of charity. Having founded six monasteries in Sicily, and one on the Caelian Hill in Rome, which was dedicated to St. Andrew, he took the religious habit in the latter, and was soon afterwards raised to the dignity of abbot. He was ordained deacon about 577, and was sent to Constantinople as Papal Legate by Pelagius II. (578-590.) At the end of three years he returned to Rome, and resumed the office of Abbot of St. Andrew's. On the death of Pelagius

he was called by the unanimous suffrages of the Roman clergy and laity to fill the vacant see. He used every means to escape the dignity; but yielding, after some time, to the entreaties of the Romans, he was consecrated bishop, in 590.

Condition of Italy.

On his accession to the chair of St. Peter, he found Italy in a deplorable condition. A plague was raging in Rome, which carried off its victims at the rate of about eighty in the hour. The northern provinces were overrun by the Lombards, and the southern were threatened with invasion. In this discouraging state of affairs, Gregory did all in his power to comfort the afflicted, and to defend his oppressed people. He was constantly engaged in moving among the plague-stricken, ministering to their spiritual and temporal wants. Having tried in vain every means that human skill could suggest to stop the ravages of the plague, he at length had recourse to the Blessed Virgin. His prayer was heard; and the plague immediately ceased. In commemoration of this event, the *Regina Coeli* was introduced into the liturgy of the Church.

Gregory assists the Italians against their oppressors.

The Emperor of the East was unwilling to protect his Italian subjects from oppression by the Lombards; while his exarch at Ravenna was unable, even had he the will, to render them any effective assistance. In their hour of need, they turned instinctively to Gregory as their only hope. Nor were they disappointed. On many occasions he acted as mediator between themselves and their oppressors, and secured for them terms of toleration which would not otherwise be conceded; while, on others, he sent men and money to besieged cities to enable them to hold out against the enemy.

Nor was the rest of Europe an improvement on Italy.

Political condition of Europe.

There was little or no security for life or property. Everything was in a state of transition. The territories of the old Roman Empire of the West had changed hands. An ancient world was fast disappearing, and a new one had sprung into existence. The Visigoths ruled in Spain; the Franks had conquered Gaul; the Anglo-Saxons held sway in Britain; and Germany was still without the pale of civilization.

Religious condition of the world.

The religious condition of the world was not more encouraging than the political. The schism in North Italy, arising out of the controversy of the *Three Chapters*, still continued; the Donatists were again making their appearance in North Africa; the Church of Constantinople was distracted by the pretensions of John the Faster: and, with the exception of the Franks, who were converted since their conquest of Gaul, all the barbarian nations that had invaded the Roman Empire were still either Pagans or Arians. The wars to which the migration of the Germanic nations had given rise had a most baneful effect on religion and education. Monasteries and churches were pillaged and destroyed: monks and nuns were often put to the sword; and everything sacred profaned.

Gregory's labours.

Gregory laboured with wonderful zeal and success to convert the unbelievers, to root out heresy and schism, and to revive religious fervour among Christians. He sent a mission to England, which resulted in the conversion of the people of that country. He had the gratification of seeing the Visigoths in Spain, and the Lombards in Italy, abandoning Arianism, to embrace the orthodox faith; and he contributed materially himself to bring about this happy result. He also succeeded in converting most of the schismatics of North Italy, and the Donatists of North

Africa. And, finally, by his preaching, writings, and example, he effected an extraordinary reformation among Christians.

He was specially diligent in preaching; and his sermons were so replete with spiritual unction, that there were not wanting some to declare that they were composed under the inspiration of the Holy Spirit. Towards the end of his life, when, owing to his delicate state of health, he was forbidden to speak in public, he frequently dictated the sermons that were to be preached by others. Forty of his homilies on the Gospels and twenty-two on Ezechiel have come down to us. Diligent in preaching.

His writings are very voluminous; the best known being his letters, of which about eight hundred and fifty have been preserved. These latter give us the best idea we can get of the range and variety of his activity. One of the most remarkable of his works is that *On the Pastoral Charge*, in which he describes the qualifications and duties of those who undertake the care of souls, and the dangers against which they must guard. It was translated into Anglo-Saxon by Alfred the Great, who sent a copy of it to each bishop in his dominions. And some of the French Synods, held during the reign of Charlemagne, ordered all bishops to have this book.[1] His writings.

He also paid much attention to the liturgy of the Church; and compiled a Sacramentary, based on the old Roman Sacramentaries, containing the prayers recited by the priest at Mass, and in the administration of the sacraments. The Canon of the Mass used at present is the same as that found in his Sacramentary. He set to Reformation of the liturgy.

[1] Rob., ii. 390.

music those parts of the Mass that are usually sung, and expressed a desire that the new, or *Gregorian Chant*, should be used throughout the Western Church.

His austerities and charities.

After his elevation to the Papacy, he continued to lead the same austere life he had led in the monastery of St. Andrew; and had some monks constantly residing with him whom he made his companions in his devotional exercises and his studies. He was specially noted for his charity to the poor. On the first day of each month he distributed large sums of money amongst them, and he used to send the dishes from his own table to many of the Roman nobles who had been reduced to want by the calamities of the times. We are told, that on one occasion when a poor man was found dead from want in the streets of Rome, Gregory went through a course of penance, and abstained from saying Mass for some time, as he considered himself responsible for the death.

He showed a spirit of religious toleration in forbidding the Jews to be persecuted on account of their faith; and on one occasion, when a Jewish convert took forcible possession of a synagogue at Cagliari, Gregory ordered that it should be restored to its original owners.

Dispute with John the Faster.

Gregory engaged in a controversy with John the Faster of Constantinople, regarding the claim urged by the latter to the title of *Ecumenical Patriarch*.[1] The title was first assumed by him in a Synod held at Constantinople, in 589, to pass judgment on the Patriarch of Antioch. His

[1] The title appears to have been first applied to a bishop of Constantinople by Justinian, who addressed Epiphanius as "Archbishop of New Rome, and Universal Patriarch." So much was the latter elated by the title, that when Pope John I. (523-526) came to Constantinople, he showed some unwillingness to yield precedence to the Pope.

pretensions were condemned by Pelagius II.; and the acts of the Synod at which he presided were annulled. John, however, who was supported by the Emperor Mauritius, refused to lay aside the title. When Gregory became Pope, he declined to acknowledge John's claim to the usurped title, and forbade his legate at Constantinople to hold ecclesiastical communication with him; he also wrote to the Patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch, advising them to defend their rights against the arrogance of the Bishop of Constantinople. He wrote a letter of protest to John, in which he says: "The Popes themselves refused the title when offered to them by the Council of Chalcedon; they glory in being styled the 'Servant of the servants of God,' though the guidance and primacy of the Church were given to St. Peter, whose lawful successors they are." And to mark the superiority of the See of Rome to that of Constantinople, he caused the restoration of a priest of Chalcedon, who had been deposed by John.

[1] Gregory, the "Servant of the servants of God."

Eulogius of Alexandria wrote to Gregory to say that he had ceased to apply the title of Ecumenical Patriarch to the Bishop of Constantinople, as such title was applicable to the Pope alone. "I pray your Lordship," replied[2] Gregory, "to address me no more with the proud title of *Universal Pope*, since that which is given to another beyond what reason requires is taken away from yourself. I do not seek to be first in titles, but in rectitude; neither do I deem it an honour that my brethren should lose honour, for my honour is in common with my brothers in the episcopate. There is due honour rendered to me, when

He refuses the title of Ecumenical Bishop.

[1] Leo the Great was spoken of at the Council of Chalcedon as "Ecumenical Archbishop and Patriarch of Great Rome." Labbe, iv. 395.

[2] Epist., viii. 30.

everyone is honoured as he deserves. If you style me *Universal Pope*, you deny that you are what you declare me to be universally. Away with words which sound of vanity and wound charity."

Death of John the Faster.

John the Faster died in 595, and was succeeded by Cyriac, who continued to use the objectionable title till Phocas (602-610), the successor of Mauritius, issued an edict, in 606, forbidding its use by the Bishops of Constantinople, and declaring that it belonged exclusively to the Bishops of Rome.

Charges against Gregory.

Gregory has been frequently charged because of the part which he took in this controversy—(*a*) with being intolerant of the rights of others; and (*b*) with rejecting the doctrine of Papal Supremacy.

To anyone who studies the course of the controversy, these charges will appear devoid of all foundation.

Reasons for his objecting to John's title.

(*a*) Gregory condemned the usurpation of the title *ecumenical* by John the Faster, as one to which he had no claim. The title, as applied to bishops, was understood in different senses. It denoted—(1) a bishop of a small part of the world; (2) a bishop of an extensive portion; and (3) a bishop who ruled the entire Church.[1] That the title was used by John the Faster in one of the two last-mentioned senses, so as to include the whole of the

[1] Anastasius, in his preface to the acts of the second Council of Nice, says (Hard., iv. 20): "Cum apud Constantinopolim positus frequenter Graecos super hoc vocabulo reprehenderem, et fastus vel arrogantiae redarguerem, asserebant quod non ideo *oecumenicum*, quem multi *universalem* interpretati sunt, dicerent patriarcham, quod universi orbis teneat praesulatum; sed quod cuidam parti praesit orbis quae a Christianis inhabitatur. Nam quod Graeci *oecumenem* vocant, a Latinis non solum *orbis* a cujus universitate *universalis* appellatur, verum etiam *habitatio* seu *locus habitabilis* nuncupatur."

Eastern Church, is clear from his presiding at the Council held at Constantinople in 589, to take cognizance of certain charges alleged against the Patriarch of Antioch, though he had no jurisdiction over the patriarchs of the East. The word *ecumenical* was generally rendered in Latin by *universalis;* and the past history of the bishops of Constantinople supplied reasonable grounds for fearing that such a title would be used for the purpose of extending their arrogant claims. The title was also objected to as one that was too high-sounding, "such as would foster vanity and wound charity."

The sense in which he refused the title.

(b) Gregory objected to the title, as applied to himself either out of humility, as some think; or because he thought that John the Faster claimed the title of *ecumenical*, to the exclusion of the rights of other bishops.[1] It is at least quite certain that Gregory considered he had a claim to the title in its orthodox sense, for he says that it was bestowed on the Popes by the Council of Chalcedon; and he exercised his primatial power over the Church on various occasions.

Other charges against Gregory.

More serious charges, however, have been made against Gregory's character; for it has been alleged that he was an approver of usurpation and murder, and an enemy of learning.

His letters to Phocas.

The only foundation for the first mentioned of these charges, is three letters of congratulation addressed by Gregory to Phocas, Emperor of the East, after his elevation to the purple. His predecessor, Mauritius, had been deposed by his subjects. Their discontent, "which

[1] The Benedictine biographer of Gregory says (iii., c. 1., 16-17), that he objected to the title of *ecumenical* only as meaning *sole* bishop. This view is borne out by the tenor of Gregory's letter to Eulogius of Alexandria.

had been growing for years, was swelled into revolt, by the belief that, for reasons of disgraceful parsimony, he had allowed twelve thousand captive soldiers to be butchered by the Avars, when it was in his power to ransom them. The Emperor was deposed and the crown was bestowed on a centurion, named Phocas, who soon after caused Mauritius and his children to be put to death with revolting cruelties."[1] Gregory wrote letters[2] of congratulation to Phocas on his elevation to the throne, and endeavoured to win him over to the side of the Church: he did not, however, use a single word that would appear to sanction the deposition and murder of Mauritius. These letters cannot, therefore, be fairly set down as equivalent to approval of the means by which Phocas was raised to the imperial throne, or of his acts after his elevation. Gregory merely did what was usual on such occasions, and what ordinary prudence suggested in the circumstances. Phocas had already shown by his conduct that he cared very little for public opinion, and much less about the law of the Gospel. It is obvious that, if such a person were to be gained over to the Church, it was by mild and conciliatory measures, and not by the public denunciation of his crimes.

His supposed hostility to learning.

The only proof of the second charge is contained in certain statements made by John of Salisbury and St. Antoninus. The former, who flourished towards the end of the twelfth century, says[3] that Gregory caused the Palatine library to be burned, for the purpose of exterminating pagan literature; and the latter, who was

[1] Rob., ii. 381.
[2] xiii., 31, 38, 39.
[3] Polycraticus, ii. 26, viii. 19.

Archbishop of Florence, in the fifteenth century, says that he endeavoured to destroy all the copies of Livy's History then extant. A sufficient refutation of these charges is the absence of all reference to them by any of Gregory's numerous biographers before the time of John of Salisbury and St. Antoninus. The charges are rejected as groundless by all modern writers of note, both Protestant and Catholic. Canon Robertson says:[1] "These stories are now rejected as fictions, invented during the middle ages, with a view of doing honour to his (Gregory's) zeal." And even Gibbon is forced to admit[2] that "the evidence of his destructive rage is doubtful and recent." These stories were, most probably, circulated during the middle ages, by those who were opposed to the study of pagan literature, for the purpose of strengthening their cause by the authority of St. Gregory's name.[3]

[1] ii., 398.

[2] *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, iii. 226.

[3] For a full inquiry into the charges against Gregory, see Palma, *Præl. in Hist. Eccl.*, i. 394.

CHAPTER XXIX.

MOHAMMEDANISM.

ARABIA was the birthplace of Mohammedanism, and the country to which the labours of its author were confined. In order, then, to understand the origin of this religion, and the nature of the work which Mohammed accomplished, it will be necessary to describe briefly the political and religious condition of the country at the time that he made his appearance.

Political condition of Arabia.

Arabia was politically independent, its sandy and barren wastes holding out little or no attraction to the great nations of antiquity to invade it. And its inhabitants, who claimed to be the descendants [1] of Ismael, the son of Abraham by Hagar, were divided into a number of independent tribes that were constantly engaged in war with one another.

Its religious condition.

The prevailing religion of the country was based on a belief in one God; the inhabitants maintaining that they professed the "original religion of Abraham," handed down from Ismael through successive generations. But their original Monotheism had become much obscured by idolatrous worship. We are told, that, in Mohammed's time, there were as many as three hundred and sixty-five statues in the Kaaba, or Holy House of Mecca, the great

[1] Hence they circumcised the male children in their thirteenth year, in memory of the circumcision of Ismael at that age.

centre of their religion. Of the other religions known in Arabia, the most widely spread were Judaism and Christianity. After the destruction of Jerusalem, many of the Jews sought refuge in this peninsula, where they founded a number of colonies: they were most numerous in the neighbourhood of Medina. Christianity was introduced into Arabia by some of the Christian sectaries who were forced to fly from the Roman Empire to avoid the severe edicts issued against them. But the time had come when the political and the religious condition of the country were to be revolutionized, when the numerous tribes were to be united in obedience to one ruler, and when the pre-existing religions were to disappear to make way for a politico-religious system, which all were forced to accept. The man who was to effect these momentous changes was Mahammed.

Mohammed.

He was born at Mecca, about 570. His father died before he was born, and he lost his mother[1] at the age of six years. He was taken in charge by his grandfather, the chief superintendent of the Kaaba. The latter, dying within two years, left him to the care of Abu-Taleb, his uncle. At the age of twenty-five he married a rich Meccan widow, whose business he had been conducting for some time. From his earliest years he had shown a decided taste for retirement, and used to withdraw each year to a cavern in a mountain near Mecca, to spend a month in meditation.

He claims the gift of prophecy.

In 609 he commenced his career as prophet and religious reformer. He said, that on one night as he was engaged in meditation in the cavern, the Archangel Gabriel appeared to him, and announced the mission for which he

[1] She was a Jewess.

had been destined by God, viz., to extirpate idolatry, and to reform Judaism and Christianity. He communicated his vision at first only to his nearest friends, by whom it was rejected as a delusion. Not daunted by this disappointment, he began to make it known to others, chiefly slaves and persons of the lower walks of life, among whom he succeeded in gaining some followers.

The flight of Mohammed from Mecca.

Having preached in private for three years, he publicly proclaimed his mission in 612. He was coldly received by his countrymen; and on his threatening them with various punishments, unless they received him as a prophet of God, they rose up against him, and compelled him to fly from Mecca, in 622. The flight of Mohammed from his native city is the Hegira, or the beginning of the Mohammedan era. He directed his steps to Yatrib, henceforth called Medinat-al-Nabi, or the city of the Prophet. Here he was kindly received, and soon made a large number of proselytes.

His return to Mecca.

As soon as his followers were sufficiently numerous to enable him to have recourse to the argument of the sword in enforcing his views, he led (630) an army against Mecca, which he took, after a brief resistance. He destroyed the idols in the Kaaba, and compelled the people to acknowledge his religious mission. The war which was thus initiated continued for three years; and before his death[1] (632), he was acknowledged as religious and political ruler throughout the whole of Arabia. He bequeathed to his successors, the Caliphs, the task of completing what he had so successfully begun, by making Islam[2] the religion of the world.

His death.

[1] He died at Medina.

[2] Islam means submission or resignation to the will of God.

The doctrines of Mohammed are set forth in the *Koran*,[1] which contains, without any regard to order, the revelations made to him during a period of twenty-three years. According to the Moslem creed, these revelations had been written from eternity on a stone before the throne of God, and were made known by degrees to Mohammed, as circumstances required; he communicated them in turn to a scribe, by whom they were committed to writing. As some of the revelations contradicted others, the Mohammedans adopted the convenient principle, that the earlier revelations were revoked by the later, with which they were inconsistent. In proof of his divine mission, Mohammed appealed to the Koran. "An illiterate man," he used to say,[2] "such as he was, who could neither read nor write, could not, without supernatural assistance, have produced a work so much admired for its elegance and purity of style." The *Koran*.

Mohammed maintained that his religious system was made known by revelation. When examined, however, it is found to contain no doctrine that had not been already known in Arabia. "He did no more," says Dr. Sprenger, "than combine the floating elements which had been imported or originated by others." His fundamental doctrine was, that "there is no God but the true God, and Mohammed is His Prophet." His idea of God appears to have been fairly sublime; he represented Him as the source of existence, the embodiment of all perfection, and chiefly remarkable for His mercy. Christ, according to Its dogmatic teaching. God.

[1] Koran signifies a book to be read.

[2] Some of his followers thought it important to maintain that he could neither read nor write. It is generally admitted that he could do both, though not well. Rob., ii. 413; Sprenger, ii., 398-402.

Prophets. the Koran, was not God, but one of the Great Prophets raised up by God to enlighten the world; and is represented as having performed many miracles during His life on earth. There were other prophets, such as Adam, Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Mohammed, the last and greatest of the prophets, and the preacher of the final dispensation.

Angels. Mohammed taught the existence of angels, who were made of a fiery substance, and endowed with corporeal bodies. Their chief duties were to attend on God, and to act as intermediaries between Him and His creatures. There are to be a resurrection and a general judgment, after which the just will enter paradise, the chief enjoyment of which

Heaven and Hell. will be of a sensual kind; and the wicked will descend to hell. From this place of punishment all who believed in the unity of God are to be ultimately released: while the unbelievers are to be condemned to eternal torments. Lastly, the Moslem creed teaches absolute predestination, according to which not only a man's fortunes, but also his acts, and consequently his future rewards and punishments, are irrevocably preordained.

Its moral code. The principal moral duties inculcated in the Koran are—prayer, almsgiving, fasting, and pilgrimages. The

Prayer, &c. Mohammedans are bound to pray five times in the day, looking towards Mecca, the several times being announced by the muezzins from the minarets of their mosques. Friday is observed by them as a day of special devotion. They are bound to give alms, varying in value from five to twenty per cent. of their yearly income. They are required to fast during one month of each year: their fasting consists in abstinence from eating, drinking, smoking, and all worldly pleasures, from daybreak to sunset: no one, however, is expected to fast, if he should be thereby

rendered unfit for his ordinary duties. Lastly, every Mohammedan whose means and health will permit, is bound to make a pilgrimage at least once in his life, to the Kaaba or Temple of Mecca.

Plurality of wives allowed

A plurality of wives is allowed by the Mohammedan religion; but only within certain limits. No man can have more than four; but he can have an indefinite number of concubines. Mohammed did not himself observe the limits which he prescribed for others, for he had fifteen or seventeen wives[1]: he claimed, however, in his favour a special dispensation of Providence.

Causes of the rapid spread of Mohammedanism.

The Mohammedans believed that the first duty imposed on them by their founder, was to extend their religion; not indeed, by mere argument, but by physical force. This, joined to the latitude allowed to them of abusing the women of a conquered nation, and their belief that those who die in war for the faith shall be immediately admitted into heaven, will easily explain their fanaticism in engaging in warfare, and the rapid spread of Mohammedanism.

They tolerated the Jews and Christians; but they exacted from them a poll-tax, and often oppressed them in various ways, though they never openly required them to change their religion. They felt, however, that they were bound to extirpate paganism among the conquered nations. Those who embraced the Moslem creed were admitted to all the rights and privileges of the victors.

Its spread in different countries.

As we have seen, the spiritual and temporal sway of Mohammed was acknowledged throughout the whole of Arabia before his death. His successors established their supremacy in Syria and Palestine,[2] in 639; in Persia, in

[1] Gibbon, iii. 433.

[2] The Caliph Omar built (637) a mosque on the site of the temple of Jerusalem.

651 ; and in North Africa, in 709, after a war lasting nearly fifty years (665-709).

From Africa they passed over into Spain, under the name of Moors, and in a single battle overthrew (711) the power of the Goths in that country. They then crossed the Pyrenees, and threatened to reduce France to subjection. But, fortunately for the cause of Europe, France happened to have at the time a warrior who was equal to the emergency. Charles Martel totally routed them in a battle fought near Tours, which is often styled, and not without reason, one of "the decisive battles of the world."

The religion of Islam continued in the ascendant till the battle of Lepanto (1571). Since that time it has been "waning, like the moon that is its symbol." [1] The Mohammedans, however, are still very numerous, numbering about one hundred and thirty millions.

[1] Trench, *Med. Ch. Hist.*, p. 48.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE MONOTHELITE HERESY.

Its origin and nature.

THIS heresy, which was the outgrowth of an attempt to effect a reconciliation between the Catholics and the Monophysites, taught that there were two natures in Christ, the divine and the human; but that they acted by a single will, the human will being merged in, or absorbed by, the divine. It is obvious that the Monothelite heresy, while admitting the human nature of Christ in word, destroyed it in reality, by denying an essential element of that nature, viz., a human will. The controversies to which it gave rise continued to disturb the Church for nearly a century.

Sergius, the reputed author of the heresy.

The generally reputed author of the heresy was Sergius,[1] Patriarch of Constantinople. From the very commencement of his episcopate about (616) he appears to have taught that "in the Word Incarnate there is but one operation, whereof the framer and author is God the Word; and of all this the Humanity is the instrument, so that whatever may be said of him, either as God or as Man, is wholly the operation of the Divine Word.[2] His opinions were soon embraced by Theodore, Bishop of Pharan in

[1] The fathers of the sixth Ecumenical Council speak of Sergius as the person "who began to write about this impious doctrine." According to his own statement, he found the doctrine laid down in a letter ascribed to his predecessor Mennas.

[2] Hard., *Coll. Conc.*, iii. 768.

Arabia, and by Cyrus, Bishop of Phasis, who became Patriarch of Alexandria, in 630.

A controversy having ensued regarding the twofold operation in Christ, Sergius endeavoured to gain over the Emperor Heraclius (610-641) to his side: he represented (620) to the latter that a reconciliation could be easily effected between the Catholics and the Monophysites, on the basis of "one Will and one life-giving operation" in Christ. Heraclius, not discouraged by the ill-success that had attended his predecessors in their interference in theological disputes, resolved to follow their example. He issued an edict, in 622, forbidding all further discussion about the one or two Wills in Christ.

Reconciliation between the Catholics and Monophysites of Egypt.

Cyrus, shortly after his translation to Alexandria, effected (633) a reconciliation between the Monophysites of Egypt and the Church, on the basis of one Will and two Natures in Christ. The new profession of faith was instantly attacked by many divines. Among them a monk named Sophronius, then staying at Alexandria, deserves special mention, because of the zeal and ability with which he defended the orthodox faith: he was shortly afterwards appointed Patriarch of Jerusalem.

The controversy, which had been hitherto confined to the East, was soon to extend to the West. The Monothelite Creed met with such opposition from Sophronius and other defenders of orthodoxy, that the Patriarchs of Constantinople and Alexandria resolved to gain over, if possible, the Pope to their side. With this object, Sergius wrote a letter to Honorius I. (625-638), who was Pope at the time, describing, in glowing terms, the return of the Egyptian Monophysites to the Church, and setting forth the evil consequences of allowing the controversy on the

Sergius endeavours to win over Honorius to his side.

Letters of Honorius.

one or two Wills to continue. He managed at the same time to conceal the real views of the Monothelites, by attributing false doctrines to their adversaries. We are told by the secretary of Honorius, who afterwards became Pope, under the name of John IV. (640-642), that he described them as holding the existence of two *conflicting* Wills in Christ.[1] Honorius wrote two letters in reply, in which he forbade further discussion on the one or two Wills, at the same time declaring that "there is but one Will in Christ." Only one of these has come down to us; fragments of the other are preserved in the acts of the Council of Trullo (680). They show that Honorius had not a clear perception of the point in dispute between the Catholics and Monothelites, for he referred to it as a mere "war of words," which should be settled by "grammarians."

Protestant and Gallican writers often appeal to these letters as an argument against Papal Infallibility; for, say they, we have here a Pope, in the full enjoyment of his freedom, teaching the Monothelite heresy.

First. It is clear from the circumstances in which the letters were written that they did not purport to contain a dogmatic definition of faith. Had he intended them to be such he would not have spoken of the controversy as a mere "war of words."

Secondly. Even granting that the letters were intended

[1] Sergius reverendae memoriae patriarcha praedicto sanctae recordationis Romanae urbis pontifici (Honorio) significavit, quod quidam in D.N.I. Christo duas *contrarias* dicerent voluntates. Quo praefatus papa comperto, rescripsit ei, quia Salvator noster, sicut esset monadicus unus, ita et valde mirabiliter super omne genus hominum conceptus et natus esset. . . Et idcirco *unam voluntatem, secundum primam formationem Adae*, naturalem humanitatis suae D.N.I.C. habere dignatus est; non *duas contrarias* quemadmodum nunc nos habere dignoscimur, qui de peccato sumus Adae geniti." Labbe, *Coll. Conc.*, v. 1758.

to set forth the official teaching of the Pontiff, we deny that they contain any error against faith. Honorius taught that "there is but one Will in Christ." These words can have, as is obvious, an orthodox, as well as a heterodox meaning.

His teaching about the two Wills in Christ.

That they were used by Honorius in their orthodox sense, *i.e.*, to exclude conflicting Wills, can be easily established. (*a*) John IV., who had been the secretary to Honorius, states that such was his meaning. (*b*) He wished to condemn the erroneous doctrine of *two conflicting* Wills, attributed by Sergius to his opponents. And (*c*) the letter contains ample evidence to show that the mind of Honorius was orthodox. The reason assigned by him for the existence of but one Will is, that "the Deity took upon Him, not our sin, but our nature, as it had been created before the Fall, not such as it has been corrupted since the Fall." This reason would exclude two conflicting Wills in Christ, but not two natural Wills acting in harmony. And in the same letter, he teaches, at least implicity, that there are two natural Wills in Christ, because he lays down that he possesses two complete Natures—the Divine and the human. "The folly," he writes, "of Nestorius and Eutyches should be carefully avoided, and Christ should be confessed to be perfect God and perfect man."

The *Ecthesis*.

In the year 638, Heraclius issued an edict called the *Ecthesis*, or *Exposition of Faith*, confirming the Pope's prohibition to discuss the question of one or two Wills in Christ, and at the same time declaring that all were bound to accept the doctrine of one Will. Sergius, who was the real author, signed it, and held out a threat of deposition against such ecclesiastics as would refuse to follow his example. The *Ecthesis* was condemned at a Council held

at Rome by John IV., in 640; whereupon Heraclius wrote to the Pope, disowning the authorship of the *Ecthesis*, and stating that it was only at the urgent request of Sergius he issued it.

The *Type.*

Constans II. (641-668), the second successor of Heraclius issued (648) an edict called the *Type*, renewing the prohibition of Heraclius, and commanding the clergy throughout his dominions to confine themselves within the limits of the five Ecumenical Councils. This new edict was immediately condemned (649) by Pope Martin I. (649-655), in a Council held in the Lateran Basilica, at which one hundred and five bishops attended. The Monothelite heresy was also condemned, and anathema pronounced against Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus of Alexandria, and the three Patriarchs of Constantinople, Sergius, Pyrrhus, and Paul, as the authors of the heresy. The decrees of the Council were forwarded to Constans II., and to the bishops of the East and the West.

Sufferings of Martin I. in the cause of orthodoxy.

Constans II. resolved to have revenge on Martin I. for his opposition. He ordered his exarch at Ravenna to arrest the Pope, and send him to Constantinople. The exarch did as he was commanded; the Pope was hurried away to Constantinople, in 653, and was subjected to the harshest treatment during his journey. On his arrival in Constantinople, he was thrown into prison, where he remained for six months. Various charges were alleged against him, chiefly of a political character. After the mock formality of a trial, he was declared guilty, and banished to the Chersonesus, where he spent his last days, deprived often of the necessaries of life. Here he died the death of the just, and received the martyr's crown, in 655.

Constantine Pogonatus.

On the murder of Constans II., in 668, his son, Constantine IV., styled Pogonatus, or the Bearded, ascended the throne. The new emperor was favourable to the orthodox party, and manifested an earnest desire to put an end to the controversies that had so long distracted Christians. He determined on holding a conference between the Catholics and Monothelites. But when the arrangements for holding the proposed conference had been completed, he changed his mind; and, after consultation with the Pope, resolved to convoke a General Council, as the most effective means of bringing peace to the Church.

The Sixth Ecumenical Council (680-681).

The Papal Legates.

This Council was convoked by Constantine, acting on the authority of Pope Agatho (678-682). The latter sent three legates, two priests, and a deacon, to preside in his name. He gave them two letters in which the Catholic doctrine of the two Wills in Christ was laid down, and the Monothelite errors condemned. One of them was written in his own name, and the other in the name of himself and a Synod of one hundred and twenty-five bishops held at Rome, in 679. The Council opened in Constantinople, on the 7th of November, 680, and is often styled the Trullan Council, from the *domed* roof of the hall in which it was held. The number of bishops present varied at different times. One hundred and seventy-four subscribed the decrees in the last session, held on the 10th of September, 681; and it is said that there were as many as two hundred present at some of the preceding sessions. The Papal Legates presided; and the Emperor was present during most of the sessions to ensure the observance of order.

The decrees of the preceding General Councils were read and approved, as was also the letter of Agatho. The doctrine contained in this letter was received by all the bishops present, including the Patriarch of Constantinople. In the 13th Session, the fathers agreed to a profession of faith in which it was defined, "that there are in Christ two natural Wills, and two operations without division, without change, and without confusion; that the human will does not conflict with the Divine; but that it follows it, and is in all things subject to it."

Definition of faith.

Macarius, Patriarch of Antioch, refused to retract his Monothelite errors, and was declared deposed from his see. A Monothelite monk, named Polychronius, offered to raise a dead man to life, in proof of the truth of his belief. The offer was accepted by the Council in order to undeceive the people. But having failed in his undertaking, he was excommunicated as a heretic and an impostor.

Macarius adheres to his errors.

Finally, the Council in its sixteenth and eighteenth Sessions pronounced anathema against certain persons, who either taught the Monothelite heresy or favoured it by their conduct: it anathematized as heretics, Sergius, Pyrrhus, Paul, Peter, Theodore of Pharan, Cyrus, and Honorius.[1]

Honorius, &c., anathematized.

The decrees were sent to Rome for confirmation. Agatho had died before their arrival, and had been succeeded by Leo II. (682-683). Leo wrote a letter to the Emperor, confirming the decrees of the Council; but in confirming the condemnation of Honorius, added: "because

Decrees forwarded to Rome for confirmation

[1] "Theodoro haeretico anathema; Sergio haeretico anathema; Cyro haeretico anathema; Honorio haeretico anathema." Actio xvi., Labbe, vi. 1072.

he permitted the faith of the Church to be stained by error; " or, because, as the same Pope said,[1] in writing to the Spanish bishops, " he did not extinguish the rising flame of heresy, but favoured it by his negligence."

Leo II. and the condemnation of Honorius.

Leo II. did not, therefore, look on Honorius as teaching Monothelite errors, but as negligent in guarding the purity of the Christian faith; and in this sense only did he confirm the condemnation of the latter. Hence, as a Council is infallible only in so far as it is confirmed by the Pope, it follows, that the condemnation of Honorius, in the sense explained, is quite compatible with his orthodoxy in belief and teaching.

The fathers of Constantinople and Honorius.

It is much disputed[2] whether the fathers of Constantinople considered Honorius heterodox. The mere application to him of the term *heretic*, would not prove that they did; for it was frequently used before the thirteenth century, to denote not only one who denied a revealed truth defined by the Church, but also such as favoured the spread of heresy or schism.

The Maronites.

The Monothelite heresy continued for several centuries among the Christians of Mount Lebanon, who were known by the name of Maronites from John Maron († 701), one of their patriarchs, who was civil as well as ecclesiastical chief of his people, and successfully defended their liberty and independence against the Saracens. Most of the Maronites renounced their heresy, about 1182, and became reconciled to the Church. They still, however,

[1] ". . . Cum Honorio qui flammam haeretici dogmatis non, ut decuit apostolicam auctoritatem, incipientem extinxit, sed negligendo confovit." Labbe, vi. 1246.

[2] See Jungmann, *Dissert.*, ii. 448.

retain their Syriac ritual, their special fast days, communion under both kinds, and a married priesthood.

Second Council of Trullo.

The sixth Ecumenical Council met with much opposition in the East because it condemned so many Eastern patriarchs. Justinian II. (685-695) convened a Council in 692 to secure its acceptance, and to pass disciplinary canons. It was held in the same hall as the last: hence it is frequently called the *Second Trullan* Council. It is also known as the *Quini-Sext*, because it supplemented the fifth and sixth General Councils, the decrees of which were purely dogmatic, by passing disciplinary laws.

Disciplinary Canons.

There were two hundred and seventeen bishops present, all of whom were from the East; the Western bishops were not invited. One hundred and two canons were passed, many of which were totally at variance with the recognised discipline of the Church. The most noteworthy of these were the second, admitting eighty-five Apostolic canons, while only fifty were received in the Latin Church; the sixth and thirteenth, allowing priests and deacons to marry; and the fifty-fifth, forbidding fasting on Saturdays during Lent except on Holy Saturday.

Not received in the West.

The canons were sent by Justinian II. to Pope Sergius (687-701) for confirmation, but Sergius refused to approve them. Various efforts were made by different Emperors of Constantinople, to secure their confirmation by the Holy See, but in vain. These canons sanctioned a number of usages which were condemned by the Latin Church; and thus paved the way for the schism which was ultimately to separate the East from the West.

SECOND PERIOD FROM A.D. 692 TO A.D. 1517.

FIRST EPOCH, FROM A.D. 692 TO A.D. 1073.

CHAPTER I.

THE CARLOVINGIAN DYNASTY AND THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE HOLY ROMAN EMPIRE.

The second French dynasty.

THE Carlovingian, the second of the French dynasties, played a prominent part in the ecclesiastical affairs of the Middle Ages. It was princes of this line that checked the advances of the Saracens in Europe; founded the temporal sovereignty of the Popes; subdued and converted the Saxons; and established an intimate union between the Church and State.

Pepin of Heristal.

The first king of this dynasty was Pepin the Short (752-768). But, long before his time, his ancestors had occupied positions of dignity and power in France. His grandfather, Pepin of Heristal (†714), succeeded in deposing Dagobert II., the last of the Merovingian Kings of Austrasia,[1] and having himself made ruler in his place. He invaded Neustria, where he was made Mayor of the Palace; and, without the title, possessed the power of

[1] Austrasia was the eastern portion of the Frankish kingdom, embracing Belgium, Lorraine, and the right bank of the Rhine, with Metz as its chief city; while Neustria lay between the Loire and the Meuse, with Paris as its capital.

king. He was succeeded by his son, Charles Martel, who soon established his authority over most of the Frankish dominions. The Merovingian princes of Neustria were allowed to retain the royal title; but they were mere instruments in the hands of the Mayor. On the death of Charles Martel, in 741, his possessions were divided between his two sons, Carloman and Pepin the Short. The former having retired to a monastery, in 747, Pepin became sole ruler of France, though he still allowed Childeric III. (742-752), the last of the Merovingian Dynasty, to retain the title of king.

The French nation dissatisfied with the Merovingian Kings.

The inconvenience of having the royal title borne by one, while all the power was in the hands of another, had been long felt, particularly as the Merovingian rulers had shown themselves to be quite unequal to the task of governing France and repelling the attacks of the neighbouring Moors. A meeting of the estates of the kingdom was held in 750, at which it was proposed to put an end to this anomalous condition of things. It was objected, however, by some, that it was not competent for them to depose the reigning king; for though the royal dignity among the Franks was elective, still their choice was confined by the constitution to princes of the Merovingian line. As a way out of the difficulty, it was arranged to send a deputation to Zachary, who was then Pope (741-752), to ask his decision on the question of law involved. He was asked: "Whether he who bore the name of king, or he who had all the royal power, should be called king?"[1] Zachary replied: "It is just and reasonable that he who has all the royal power, should also have the name of King of France."

[1] *Annal. Eginhardi*, Ad. an. 749; *Annal. Laur.*, Ad an. 749.

Deposition of Childeric III., and coronation of Pepin.

On the receipt of the Pope's reply in France, a national assembly was held at Soissons (752), at which Childeric III. was deposed, and forced [1] to enter a monastery; and Pepin, who was elected in his place, was crowned King [2] of France. He was crowned a second time, in 754, by Pope Stephen II., at the abbey of St. Denys, and invested with the dignity of Patrician [3] of Rome.

During the sixteen years of his reign, Pepin proved himself worthy of the confidence reposed in him by the French people and the Pope. He made his authority respected throughout France, defeated the Saxons and other German tribes that were harassing the eastern frontiers of his kingdom, and destroyed the last stronghold of the Moors in the South of France. At the request of the Pope, he crossed the Alps twice, and compelled the Lombards to hand over to the Holy See the territories they had conquered in Central Italy.

Charlemagne

On his death, in 768, he was succeeded by his two sons, Charles and Carloman. The death of the latter, in 772, left Charles sole ruler of the Frankish kingdom. He established his authority over Aquitaine, which had become an independent state under the last Merovingian kings. He was engaged during the greater part of his reign in wars

[1] His wife and son were likewise forced to embrace the religious state.

[2] According to many writers he was crowned by St. Boniface, the Apostle of Germany.

[3] In the old Roman Empire, the Patrician dignity was next to royalty, and was conferred only on the most distinguished citizens of the state. The Patricians were generally selected to fill offices of trust and responsibility, such as to govern Roman provinces and protect their interests. Hence the Pope, in making Pepin Patrician of Rome, conferred on him a title of distinction and honour; but at the same time he expected that Pepin would undertake the duty attached to the dignity, viz., to protect the interests of the Roman Church.

with foreign enemies: he took part,[1] we are told, in fifty-three campaigns, eighteen of which were against the Saxons. These latter were frequently conquered both by Pepin and Charlemagne; but they always availed themselves of the first opportunity to throw off the Carlovingian yoke. They were finally subdued by Charlemagne, in 805, after a war which lasted, with some intervals of peace, for over thirty years. He engaged in war with the Moors, and wrested from them the whole of Northern Spain, between the Ebro and the Pyrenees. He also frequently repulsed the Northmen, who were unceasing in their efforts to establish a stronghold in the North of France. In 774, he led an expedition into Italy, at the request of Pope Hadrian I. (772-795), to protect the Papal States against the Lombards: he conquered them, and put an end to their rule in Italy.

Charlemagne crowned Emperor.

The most momentous event in the life of Charlemagne was his coronation as Emperor, by Pope Leo III. (795-816). This occurred on Christmas Day, in the year 800. He had come to Rome to support the Pope against his rebellious subjects; and was assisting at Mass in St. Peter's when Leo III. placed a precious crown on his head, and saluted him as Augustus, and Emperor of the Romans. It is much disputed whether the ceremony of his coronation was performed with his consent. According to Eginhard,[2] his secretary and biographer, he afterwards declared, that had he known what was to occur, he would not have entered St. Peter's that day, notwithstanding the solemnity of the festival. Other writers, however, of the ninth century,

Said to have been crowned against his will.

[1] Rob., iii. 109.

[2] *Vita Caroli Magni*, cxxviii.

such as John the Deacon[1] and Alcuin,[2] say that the coronation of Charlemagne had been already arranged, and generally expected. There does not appear to be much difficulty in reconciling the apparently conflicting statements of these writers. The coronation of Charlemagne may have been already arranged, and still he may have been unwilling, as stated by Eginhard, that it should take place in the circumstances. Why Charlemagne should have been opposed to the ceremony on that occasion, must remain a matter of surmise, as we have no information on the subject from contemporary authorities. Many Protestant writers say that he was unwilling to receive the imperial crown from the hands of the Pope. Such an opinion has no foundation, either in any incident of Charlemagne's life, or in the customs of the age. When he had been in Rome, in 774, he was crowned by Hadrian, without any expression of dissent. And it was usual at the time for the Emperors of the East to receive the imperial crown from the Patriarchs of Constantinople: Charlemagne could not, therefore, be unwilling to have a like ceremony performed by the Head of the Catholic Church. Moreover, Charlemagne, speaking afterwards of his coronation, says that he was "crowned by God," and "in accordance with the Divine Will."[3] Others say that his unwillingness sprung from a feeling of humility, or of his unworthiness to receive such a dignity. It is, however, more probable that he was opposed to his coronation on Christmas Day, on other grounds. He had conceived a grand political scheme for uniting the East

[1] *Chronicon*, apud Mur., Script. Ital., i. 312. The *Chronicon* was written towards the end of the ninth century.

[2] *Epistolae ad Nathanaelem.*

[3] *Capitularies*, Collection by Baluzzi, i. 345.

and the West, by his own marriage with the Empress Irene; and he may have thought that his coronation was premature, and would interfere with the realization of his hopes.

Character of the new imperial dignity

The coronation of Charlemagne has given rise to another controversy regarding the nature of the imperial dignity conferred on him. Many hold that it was the imperial dignity of the East transferred to the West; others speak of it as a revival of the old imperial dignity of Rome. The former is the opinion of most writers of the Middle Ages, as well as of Bellarmine[1] and Baronius;[2] while it is referred to as a revival of the Western Empire on the coins struck to commemorate the event. We may admit, indeed, that both the old Roman Empire was revived, and the Eastern Empire transferred to the West, in a sense to be presently explained; but there appears to have been an essential difference between the old imperial dignity and the new. The former had its foundation in the voice of the people, or the vote of the senate; the latter derived its origin from the Vicar of Christ: the former was established for a purely civil or political purpose; the latter for a religious one, viz., to protect the interests of the Church.

Privileges conferred upon Charlemagne by his coronation.

The coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor gave him no new rights over his subjects, but simply confirmed him in those which he had already enjoyed, surrounded his person with more majesty and external splendour, and secured for him the respect of Christians as the guardian of the Church. It conferred on him, however, the right of precedence among Christian princes, *in the eyes of the*

[1] *De Trans. Imp. Rom. a Graecis ad Latinos*, i. c. 4.

[2] *Annales*, Ad an. 800; Jung., iii. 182.

Church. And, as carrying with it such a privilege, the new imperial dignity may be considered either a revival of the old, as the Roman Emperor claimed precedence among the princes of Europe; or a transfer of the imperial dignity of the East to the West. Up to this time, the Byzantine Emperors had enjoyed the place of honour among the princes of Christendom. But by their treatment of the Church, they had long since forfeited their claim to such an honour. The Church was clearly bound to consult for her own interests, and to confer the right of precedence among her princes or some one who would be worthy of the honour. And such she did when she selected Charlemagne, who possessed the power, and had already shown that he possessed the will, to defend her interests.

Union between Church and State.

By the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire, a close and intimate union was effected between the Church and the State. The Emperor was the highest civil functionary, pledged to assist the Church in fulfilling her divine mission, and to protect the patrimony of St. Peter, of which he was the recognised guardian. The Pope was the highest ecclesiastical dignitary, to whom all, even the Emperor, were bound to yield obedience in spiritual matters. This union between Church and State has been frequently illustrated by that existing between the human soul and body.

Charles has many claims to the title of Great, bestowed on him by posterity; but his highest claims are based on his labours in the interests of religion and education.

Charlemagne labours in the interests of religion.

He was thoroughly convinced of the necessity of making the Christian religion the foundation of the prosperity and happiness of his people. Such was the doctrine that he learned from St. Augustine's *City of God,* which

he had generally read to him during meals. Hence, he laboured zealously to spread the Gospel among the pagan peoples that he conquered, and bring about a revival of religion among those who had already been Christians. National assemblies, consisting of the representatives of the clergy and laity, were held twice each year, in which laws were passed for the spiritual and temporal well-being of the people. These laws were promulgated in the name of Charlemagne, and are generally known as *Capitularies*. More than a third of them were in regard to ecclesiastical subjects. Hadrian sent him a collection of canons, taken chiefly from the Dionysian collection, to which others were added that were specially suited to the needs of the French Church. This collection was made part of the law of the realm, and published under the name of the *Codex Hadrianeus*. The Roman ritual and chant were also introduced into France by Charlemagne. He built many churches throughout the empire, the chief being that at Aix-la-Chapelle, his favourite city, which he adorned with pillars of marble brought from Rome and Ravenna, and otherwise lavishly embellished. In his public addresses he strongly impressed on his subjects the necessity of attending to their religious duties; and in many respects he himself set them an example, for he was most regular in his attendance at the public offices of the Church. On some points, however, as we shall see, it is difficult to reconcile his moral conduct with his religious professions.

Codex Hadrianeus.

He gave a great impetus to education in his dominions, both by his own example and the numerous laws he had passed on the subject. Having acquired a taste for letters during his stay in Italy, he applied himself at an advanced age to acquire that knowledge which he had neglected in

He promotes education among his subjects.

his earlier years; and so successful were his efforts, that he could speak Latin as his mother tongue, and possessed a fair knowledge of Greek. Many letters attributed to him have come down to us; and he is even credited with the authorship of some hymns[1] used in the public service of the Church.

Alcuin.

He invited distinguished scholars from different countries to assist in reviving learning among his people. Of those who accepted his invitation, the most notable were Alcuin, an Englishman; Paul Warnefrid,[2] a Lombard; Paulinus, Patriarch of Aquileia; and two Irishmen, named Sedulius and Clement. Among these Alcuin was the most remarkable, both because of his profound and varied learning, and of the influence which he possessed at the French Court. He was born in Northumbria, about the year 735, and received his early education in the cathedral school of York. He afterwards became director of this school; and under him it attained such fame, that many students flocked to it from other countries. In 782, he went to Rome to bring the pallium to England for the newly-appointed Archbishop of York. On his return he met Charlemagne at Parma. At the request of the latter he went to France, and took charge of the Palatine School, which had been recently established in connection with the Court, for the education of members of the royal family, and of the sons of nobles who had obtained permission to attend. Here the seven liberal arts were taught, viz., grammar, dialectics, rhetoric, arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. The first

The Palatine School.

[1] For instance, the *Veni Creator* is attributed to him by some: see Rob., iii. 125.

[2] Generally styled Paul the Deacon.

three were known as the *Trivium*, and the remaining four as the *Quadrivium*. This school became the model of the other schools which Charlemagne founded in connection with the cathedrals and monasteries throughout the kingdom. Alcuin continued to teach in the Palatine School for fourteen years, till 796, when he asked permission to retire to a monastery. The permission sought for was granted, and he was appointed abbot of the monastery of St. Martin at Tours, which position he held till his death, in 804. His literary works are both numerous and varied: they embrace commentaries on Sacred Scripture, treatises on liturgy and the principal controversies of his age, poems, and the lives of many saints. He continued to his death to be the chief adviser of Charlemagne in all matters relating to Church and State.

Education of clergy.

Charlemagne paid special attention to the education of the clergy, as he fully realized how much the intellectual culture and the religious training of a people depend on their spiritual guides. He issued frequent instructions to the bishops to be very exact in requiring of candidates for the sacred ministry a sound knowledge of the Trivium, Quadrivium, and Theology. And, at his request, Paul the Deacon compiled a book of homilies to assist priests in instructing their flocks.

Few can refuse to Charlemagne the tribute of their praise and admiration, both for his bravery and success in war, and for the care with which he provided for the religious and temporal wants of his subjects. Still, it is impossible to overlook some dark spots in his character. Thus, he seized on his brother's dominions, and excluded his nephews from succession to their father's rights. And it is difficult, if not impossible, to justify his relations with

Stains on Charlemagne's character.

women. His biographer mentions as many as fourteen with whom he lived. Of these, six are spoken of as his wives, while eight are described as concubines. Those who undertake to justify Charlemagne on this latter point, say that they were all his wives whom he married successively; that he never had two wives at the same time; and that those styled concubines were his lawful wives, but not admitted to all the privileges of royal consorts.[1] He appears to have had somewhat loose notions about the stability of matrimony; for he divorced his first wife, and married the daughter of Didier, King of the Lombards, for which he was severely rebuked by Stephen III. (768-772). Within a year, however, he dismissed his Lombard consort; but it is uncertain whether he took back his former wife. In justice to Charlemagne, it must be borne in mind that the laws of the French Church at the time on the question of divorce were somewhat lax. For instance, the Council of Vermeria,[2] (753) passed a law allowing a husband who had to remove to some distant district to take another wife, if his first refused to accompany him.

His death.

Charlemagne died in 814, at Aix-la-Chapelle, and was buried in the Cathedral of that city. He was canonized by the anti-pope Paschal III., in 1165; but his name has never been admitted into the Roman calendar; neither has the public worship in his honour in Aix-la-Chapelle, Frankfort, and Cologne, been condemned by any legitimate authority.

[1] It was not at all uncommon about this time to designate by the name of concubine a lawful wife who was not admitted by her husband to the full privileges of his state.

[2] Can. 9, Pertz, iii. 22.

The glory of Charlemagne's Empire was destined to disappear with himself. His successor, Louis the Mild, the only one of his sons that survived him, was of a kind and gentle disposition, and was most anxious to carry out the dying injunction of his father, to protect the Church. But he lacked the tact and firmness of character that would enable him to rule a great Empire, and deal effectively with his ungrateful and rebellious children. He received (816) the imperial crown at Aachen (Aix-la-Chapelle), from the hands of Stephen IV., who had come to France for the purpose. Louis the Mild.

Louis was twice married. By his first wife he had three sons, Pepin, Louis, and Lothaire; the first he made king of Aquitaine; the second, duke of Bavaria; and the third, king of Italy, and his own associate in the government of the empire. By his second wife he had one son, Charles the Bald, to whom he gave Suabia, Alsace, and portion of Burgundy. The other sons of Louis, feeling dissatisfied that Charles should be so liberally dealt with, rose in revolt against their father, in 830; but they were speedily reduced to subjection. They received pardon from Louis, and were confirmed in their former possessions. But this indulgent treatment was availed of by ungrateful children to head another rebellion against their father in 833. The contending armies met at Rothfield, between, Strasburg and Basle. Gregory IV. (827-844), who had crossed the Alps in order to effect a peace between Louis and his sons, used all his efforts for that purpose, but with no avail. The followers of Louis, yielding to the influence of bribery, deserted their sovereign, and left him no option, but to deliver himself into the hands of his sons. The The rebellions of his children.

scene of this occurrence is known in history as "the Field of Lies."

His deposition

A synod of rebel bishops was held at Compiègne, at which a series of charges were brought against Louis. He was deposed, condemned to undergo a public penance, and forced to go through the ceremony of degradation, by removing the imperial insignia with his own hands.

The indignation to which Louis had been subjected caused a revulsion of popular feeling in his favour. Pepin and Louis of Bavaria, fearing the indignation of the people, deserted the cause of Lothaire, who was the leading spirit in the rebellion, and took the side of their father, of whom they asked and obtained forgiveness. Lothaire, being unable to maintain his usurped position against his brothers, supported as they were by the voice of the nation, followed their example, and obtained pardon from his father. Forty-seven bishops assembled at Thionville (835), annulled the acts of the Synod of Compiègne, received the resignation of Ebbo, Archbishop of Rheims, who presided at that Synod, released Louis from the penance to which he had been condemned, and restored him to the throne. Louis died in 840, just as he was preparing to defend himself against a third rebellion headed by his youngest son, Louis of Bavaria.

War between Louis' children.

The sons of Louis, having no longer their father to war with, turned their arms against one another. Lothaire wished to govern all the countries that had been ruled by his father. In this he was opposed by Louis and Charles. A two years' war ensued, in which thousands of lives were sacrificed to the rival ambition of brothers. It was brought to a close by the memorable treaty of Verdum (843), according to which the empire was divided between Lothaire,

Louis, and Charles the Bald. Lothaire received the imperial crown, with the kingdom of Italy, and a long strip of territory extending on both sides of the Rhine, from the Baltic to the Mediterranean, which was styled, after its ruler, Lothairingia. Louis received as his portion the part of the empire east of Lothairingia—hence he was styled the German; and France was given to Charles the Bald. Pepin was dead, but was succeeded in the sovereignty of Aquitaine by his son, Pepin the Younger. By the treaty of Verdun, he was obliged to acknowledge the suzerainty of Charles the Bald.

Carlovingian Dynasty becomes extinct in Germany and France.

The Frankish Empire was reunited by Charles the Fat (881-887), the younger son of Louis the German. On his deposition, in 887, it was again divided into the three kingdoms of France, Germany, and Italy. The Carlovingian Dynasty became extinct in Germany by the death of Louis the Child (911); and in France, with the deposition (987) of Louis V. by Hugh Capet, the powerful Count of Paris, who thus became the founder of the Capetian Dynasty.

CHAPTER II.

THE TEMPORAL SOVEREIGNTY OF THE POPES: ITS ORIGIN AND NECESSITY.

SINCE the occupation of Rome by the Piedmontese troops, on the 20th of September, 1870, no question has given rise to more discussion than the temporal sovereignty of the Popes. While nearly all anti-Catholic writers agree in maintaining that it had its origin in ambition and fraud, there have not been wanting Catholics to declare that it is neither useful nor necessary for the discharge of the duties of the Holy See. We shall show against these two classes of writers—(*a*) that the original title of the Popes to the temporal sovereignty was based on the principles of justice and honour; and (*b*) that it is useful and necessary for the full and free discharge of their divine mission.

A.—*The Origin of the Temporal Sovereignty.*

The alleged Donation of Constantine.

From the tenth to the fifteenth century it was the commonly received opinion, that the temporal sovereignty dated from the time of Constantine the Great. This opinion had its origin in the alleged Deed of Donation, by which Constantine was said to have granted to Pope Sylvester I. and his successors, the Lateran Palace, the City of Rome, and all the provinces of Italy and the Western Empire.[1]

[1] "Unde ut non pontificalis apex vilescat, sed magis amplius quam terreni dignitas et gloriae potentia decoretur, ecce tam *palatium nostrum*, ut praelatum est, quamque *Romanae urbis et ommes Italiae seu Occidentalium*

The oldest copy of the Deed extant is a manuscript in the National Library, in Paris, which is supposed to date from the ninth century. Copies of it are contained in many collections of the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, as well as in the Decree of Gratian, compiled during the twelfth century.

We find the first mention of the Deed in the works of Hincmar of Rheims,[1] and other French writers, who flourished during the latter half of the ninth century; it is frequently referred to in works written after that time. There is no reliable evidence to show that it was quoted by any Italian writer before the middle of the eleventh century, when Leo IX. (1049-1054) appealed to it in writing against Michael Cerularius, the schismatical Patriarch of Constantinople, in defence of the rights of the Holy See.

The Deed a forgery.

Its authenticity does not appear to have been questioned before the fifteenth century, when it was shown to have been a forgery by Aeneas Sylvius (afterwards Pius II.), Nicholas of Cusa, and others. Yet, even after their time, there were many who defended it down to the time of Baronius,[2] who demonstrated its spuriousness so conclusively as to leave no longer any room for reasonable doubt. Amongst the various arguments adduced by the

regionum provincias, loca et civitates, saepe fato beatissimo pontifici nostro Silvestro universali Papae contradentes atque relinquentes ejus vel successorum ipsius pontificum potestati et ditioni firma imperiali censura per hanc nostram divalem et sacram pragmaticam constitutionem decernimus disponenda, atque juri sanctae Romanae ecclesiae concedimus permanenda." Labbe, i., p. 1530. *Seu* between *Italiae* and *Occidentalium* is used in the sense of *et*, in which sense it is frequently used in early Church Latin. *Vide* Jungmann, *Diss.*, v., p. 33.

[1] *De Ordine Palatii*, c. 13.

[2] *Annales*, Ad an. 324.

learned annalist, in support of his opinion, we may mention the following :—(*a*) The Deed is not referred to by any writer before the ninth century ; (*b*) it is not found in any collection of canons and decrees before that time; (*c*) the Popes never laid claim to the extensive temporal sovereignty assigned to them in this document; and (*d*) Constantine divided the whole of the Western Empire between two of his sons, assigning to one Italy, Illyricum, and Africa, and to the other, the remaining provinces of the West; although, according to the alleged Deed, he had already made over these provinces to Sylvester and his successors. Nor is there any account of a protest of the Popes against this division of the empire.

Place and purpose of the forgery.

There is much controversy about the place of the forgery. According to Jungmann,[1] whose opinion appears to be the most probable, the Deed was fabricated in France, as the oldest MSS. containing it belong to that country, and the earliest writers that refer to it were Frenchmen. The forgery was most probably in the interest of the new Western Empire, established (800) by Pope Leo III. The Greeks objected to it as irregular, on the ground that the Pope who originated it had no authority to do so. The author of the forgery believed that the Deed of Donation afforded a satisfactory explanation of the power claimed by the Pope in bestowing the imperial crown on Charlemagne. That the forgery was not in the interest of the Popes, is obvious from the fact, that none of them ever thought of laying claim to the extent of temporal sovereignty assigned to them in the Deed. It is the opinion of some, that its author was Pseudo-Isidore ;[2] it is more probable, however,

[1] Vol. v., 26.

[2] See page 465.

that such is not the case, for many reasons, but chiefly on account of the difference of style between it and many of the false Decretals.

Diversity of opinion about the origin of the temporal sovereignty.

Rejecting, then, as untenable the view of those who would make the temporal sovereignty date from the time of Constantine, we still find among modern writers considerable discrepancy of opinion.[1] This is very much due to their neglecting to distinguish between mere political influence and temporal sovereignty. The political influence of the Popes may be said to date from the conversion of Constantine the Great; and was continually on the increase till it finally resulted in the establishment of the temporal sovereignty during the potificate of Stephen II. (752-757).

Causes of the political influence of the Popes.

Many causes contributed to give the Popes political influence, and thus pave the way for the establishment of the temporal sovereignty. The principal were the charitable donations of the faithful, the civil privileges bestowed on the clergy by Constantine and his successors, and the part played by different Popes, as the saviours of Rome and Italy.

(*a*) The faithful of each succeeding generation have been liberal in their grants of money and lands to ecclesiastics, and especially to the Popes; and at no time was this generosity more marked than during the first centuries of the Church. We are told in the Acts of the Apostles,[2] that "as many as were possessors of lands and houses sold them, and brought the price of the things that

[1] For an account of the different views of writers regarding the origin of the temporal sovereignty, see Miley's *Hist of Papal States*, vol. i., p. 187, &c.

[2] iv., 34-37.

were sold, and laid it down before the feet of the Apostles." And the example of the first Christians was followed by many of their successors. But the political influence which these temporal possessions were calculated to bestow was, for a time, destroyed by the civil disabilities under which the Christians had been placed by the laws of the Roman empire. When, however, these disabilities were removed by Constantine the Great, the wealth of which the Popes had become possessed brought with it its attendant influence.

Liberal donations of the faithful.

The possessions of the Roman Church rapidly accumulated till the pontificate of Gregory I (590-604), when, as we learn from many of his letters, the Holy See had estates, not only in differents part of Italy, but also in Gaul, Sicily, Corsica, Dalmatia, and even in Africa. These estates consisted of lands, herds, towns, and villages, and were held on the ordinary conditions of tenure, always dependent on a superior lord.

Civil privileges bestowed on bishops by Constantine, &c.

(*b*) Many of the Roman emperors bestowed various civil privileges on the bishops of the Christian Church. Thus, Constantine the Great empowered them to set slaves at liberty, freed them from the ordinary taxes of the country, and invested them with judicial power to pass definite sentences, when appealed to by litigants from the ordinary tribunals of the State. These privileges were confirmed and amplified by many of his successors especially by Theodosius I. (379-395), and Justinian I. (527-565). No one can fail to see that these privileges contributed to increase the influence of the bishops, and particularly of the Popes, in the civil affairs of the empire.

The Popes the saviours of Rome and Italy.

(*c*) But what contributed most to increase the political influence of the Popes, and to prepare for the establishment

of the temporal sovereignty, was the prominent part which they played in saving Rome from destruction, and Italy from oppression by barbarian invaders.

Italy overrun by different Germanic nations.

Theodosius the Great was the last who ruled over the whole of the Roman Empire. On his death it was permanently divided into two parts—one known as the Eastern, the other as the Western Empire. The latter was governed by a series of imbecile rulers, who were unable to secure peace at home, or to repel the attacks of the enemy abroad. The fair plains of Italy were successively overrun by hordes of barbarian invaders, —the Visigoths, the Huns, the Vandals, the Suevi, the Heruli, the Ostrogoths, and the Lombards.

Attila before Rome.

Twice during his pontificate (440-461) did Leo the Great save Rome from destruction. When Attila, the leader of the Huns, encamped before its walls, in 452, Leo appeared before him vested in pontifical robes, and prevailed on him to withdraw his army from the Eternal City. And a few years later, the same Pope secured from Genseric, the fierce Vandal chief, a promise that after he had captured Rome, the public buildings should not be destroyed.

The Heruli, &c.

After the downfall of the Roman Empire, in 476, the Heruli ruled in Italy till their defeat by the Ostrogoths, under Theodoric,[1] in 488. The latter were conquered in turn by Narses, the celebrated general of Justinian, after a war which lasted for eighteen years (535-553). Italy was made a subject province of the Eastern Empire, and

[1] Theodoric (488-525), who was an Arian, treated the Catholics of Italy well during the first years of his reign: But towards the end of his life, on hearing that Justin I. (518-527) was treating the Arians harshly in the East, he began to persecute the orthodox Christians in Italy.

was ruled by exarchs, residing at Ravenna, Narses being the first (553-564), and Eutychius, who fled before the victorious Lombards, in 750, the last.

The Lombards.

The Lombards were the last of the Germanic nations that invaded Italy. Under their King, Alboin, they conquered (568) the whole of Northern Italy from the Eastern Emperor, and gave their name to the conquered territories. They treated the subject Italians with great harshness and cruelty, excluding them from all civil and military positions of trust and honour. The enmity borne by them to learning was remarkable, even in comparison with that of their fellow-savages, who had at former periods invaded the Roman provinces. The seats of education they everywhere destroyed; the clergy and the monks, the only learned men of the time, they slaughtered without mercy. And Monte Cassino, the fountain from which knowledge flowed for so many ages over Europe, was reduced to a heap of ruins.[1]

Gregory I. assists the Italians.

They were unceasing in their efforts to extend their conquests in Italy; while the exarchs were unable, or unwilling, to check their advances. The Italians, who were naturally anxious to escape the tyrannical yoke of the conquerors, turned, as if by instinct, to the Popes, as the only persons who would assist them in the hour of need. Nor, as the sequel proved, was their confidence misplaced. Gibbon, one of the most implacable enemies of the Papacy, is forced to speak in flattering terms of the part taken by Gregory I. in protecting Rome and different parts of Italy against the Lombards. "The misfortunes of Rome," he says,[2] "involved the Apostolic Pastor in the

[1] Milcy, *Hist of Papal States*, i. 224; Muratori, *Dissert.*, 1, 5.

[2] *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ii. 229-230.

business of peace and war. . . . Gregory awakened the Emperor from a long slumber, exposed the guilt or incapacity of the exarch and his inferior ministers, complained that the veterans were drawn from Rome for the defence of Spoleto, encouraged the Italians to guard their cities and altars, and condescended in the crisis of danger to name the tribunes, and to direct the operations of the provincial troops. . . . The sword of the enemy was suspended over Rome; it was averted by the mild eloquence and seasonable gifts of the Pontiff, who commanded the respect of heretics and barbarians. The merits of Gregory were treated by the Byzantine Court with reproach and insult; but in the attachment of a grateful people he found the purest reward of a citizen, and the *best right of a sovereign.*" The example of Gregory was faithfully followed by his successors during the seventh century.

Eastern emperors.

The continued neglect with which the Eastern Emperors treated the Italians in their struggles with the Lombards, together with the part taken by them in the Monothelite and other religious controversies, served to alienate the affections of their subjects in the West. It was not, however, till Leo the Isaurian began his war against image-worship, that the last ties that united Italy to the East began to be broken; and the allegiance, which up to that time had been given to the Emperors, was by degrees transferred to the Popes.

No less than six attempts were made on the life of Gregory II. (715-731) by Leo's emissaries in Italy: the last was made by Paul, the exarch of Ravenna, who marched towards Rome, and was assisted in his wicked designs by Basil, the leader of the Roman soldiers. When

the Romans heard that the Pope's person was in danger, they rose in revolt, repulsed the exarch, and compelled Basil to retire to a monastery. After this time the Romans elected their own generals, and refused to receive those nominated by the exarchs of Ravenna.

Liutprand lays siege to Rome.

In 729, Eutychius, the successor of Paul, entered into a compact with Liutprand, King of the Lombards, to march on Rome, and assist in making Gregory II. a captive. When their armies had encamped before the Eternal City, Gregory visited Liutprand, and prevailed on him to withdraw his troops. After ten years, however, Liutprand renewed his attack on Rome. Gregory III. (731-741), despairing of getting any assistance from the Iconoclastic Emperor of the East, appealed for succour to Charles Martel, who at the time possessed the authority, without the name, of King of France. The latter, who was on friendly terms with Liutprand, refused to go to Rome; but it is likely that he used his influence with the Lombard King, for the latter suddenly abandoned the siege, and went to France to assist Charles against the Saracens.

Rachis retires to a monastery.

Rachis, the second successor of Liutprand, attacked the Pentapolis,[1] in 749; but was prevailed on by Pope Zachary (741-752) to withdraw his troops. Himself, his wife, and his children shortly afterwards embraced the religious state. His successor, Aistulf, led an army against the exarchate of Ravenna, in 750. Eutychius, the last of the exarchs, being unable to meet the Lombard chief, fled at his approach. Aistulf soon succeeded in conquering the last of the Greek possessions in Central Italy. He then

[1] The Pentapolis comprised the Legation of Urbino, and portion of the Delegation of Ancona. See Gosselin's *Power of the Popes*, translated by Dr. Kelly of Maynooth.

turned his steps towards Rome, where his supremacy had not been yet recognised. But Rome was saved by Pope Stephen II. (752-757), who, by the bestowal of liberal gifts, succeeded in concluding a treaty of peace with the Lombards for forty years.

Aistulf soon regretted his having entered into this treaty with the Pope, and resolved to find some excuse for setting it aside. He sent a mandate to the Romans, requiring that they should submit to a capitation tax, or be prepared to bear the consequences of their refusal. The Pope, seeing that he had nothing to expect from the Lombards but oppression, appealed for assistance to Constantine Copronymus (741-775). The latter was, however, more intent on his war against images than on guarding the interests of his subjects. Stephen then appealed to the mercy of Aistulf, but in vain. As a last resource, he turned for succour to Pepin, who had been recently raised to the dignity of King of France. The latter, who was under special obligations to the Papacy, entertained the application favourably, and invited Stephen to come to France. The Pope accepted the invitation, and set out for France, in 753, where he was received with all the honour due to his rank. He crowned Pepin, his two sons, and his wife. At two meetings of the French nobility, held at Soissons and Quiercy, early in the year 754, it was resolved that the territories conquered by the Lombards in Central Italy should be taken from them, and handed over to the Holy See. Pepin crossed the Alps with a large army, in the month of September, 754, and defeated the Lombards in a pitched battle. The latter withdrew to Pavia, their chief stronghold, to which Pepin laid siege. Owing to the interference of Stephen, a

Aistulf.

Stephen II. appeals to Pepin for assistance.

treaty was entered into, by which Aistulf promised, on oath, to hand over to the Pope the exarchate of Ravenna [1] and the Pentapolis.

Pepin crosses the Alps a second time

On the withdrawal of the French troops, the Lombards refused to carry out the terms of the treaty; and even went so far as to lay siege to Rome the same year. Again the Pope was forced to appeal to Pepin for assistance. The latter crossed the Alps a second time; and when the Lombards heard of his approach, they abandoned the siege, and retired for shelter to Pavia, where they were, in turn, besieged by the French army. They soon submitted, and accepted a solemn deed drawn up by Pepin, by which the conquered territory was made over to the Holy See. The abbot Fulrad was sent as Pepin's representative to the exarchate of Ravenna and the Pentapolis, accompanied by representatives of the Lombard king; they brought the

Pepin's Deed of Donation.

keys of twenty-two cities to Rome, and placed them, together with the Deed of Donation, on the Confession of St. Peter. In this Deed, the Duchy of Rome was not mentioned, as it had been already in the possession of the Popes. Thus was the temporal sovereignty of the Popes established, by the generosity of Pepin, in handing over to them the territories of Central Italy, conquered by him from the Lombards.

According to many Protestant writers, the Pope did not treat the Eastern Emperors fairly or honourably in inviting a foreign power into Italy, and thus giving it an

[1] The term *exarchate* is taken in two senses:—(*a*) to designate the Italian provinces that recognised the authority of the Eastern emperors; and (*b*) to denote the duchy of Ravenna, corresponding pretty much to the modern Romagna. It is used in the more restricted sense when distinguished from other provinces of Italy.

opportunity of establishing a hold in that country. It is very difficult to understand the principles of honour by which those writers are guided in forming such an estimate of the conduct of the Popes. In the first place, the Greek Emperor refused to send the necessary forces to protect their provinces in Italy against the Lombard invaders, and thus forfeited all right to them. "Beyond all controversy," says Grotius,[1] "if we regard the law of nations, what is wrested by enemies cannot be reclaimed by those who were in posssesion before these enemies came in, but who were ousted by the fortune of war." Moreover, Pepin, in undertaking war against the Lombards, acted at the express request of the Italians, who were suffering severely from oppression by the invaders. He had then a perfect right to the conquered territories, and to make a grant of them to whomsoever he willed. And, secondly, it was only after many appeals had been made in vain to the Byzantine Court, that, as a last resource, Gregory III. applied for succour to Charles Martel, and Stephen II. to Pepin. The interference of France in the affairs of Italy was entirely owing to the total disregard shown by the Eastern Emperors for the interests of their subjects. In the whole course of history, no temporal sovereignty can be shown to be based more strictly on the principles of justice and honour than that of the Holy See.

The Popes charged with ambition and injustice.

Didier, the last King of the Lombards, invaded the exarchate of Ravenna, in 772. Pope Hadrian appealed for assistance to Charlemagne. The latter led an army across the Alps, in 773, defeated the Lombards, and put an end to their rule in Italy (774).[2] He spent the Easter of 774

New Deed of Donation.

[1] Apud Muratori, Ad an. 755.

[2] Lombardy became a subject province of France.

in Rome, and had a new Deed of Donation[1] drawn up and signed by the French nobles present, confirming the Holy See in the possessions granted to it by Pepin, and adding others, viz., the island of Corsica, the provinces of Venice and Istria, and the duchies of Spoleto and Benavento.

The temporal sovereignty fully established by Pepin and Charlemagne.

The temporal sovereignty of the Popes, established by Pepin, and confirmed by Charlemagne, was thoroughly complete, and not dependent in any way on the French crown, except for protection. This is sufficiently obvious from Charlemagne's will, written some short time before his death. In it the Emperor assigns to each of his three sons[2] a portion of his dominions, which he minutely describes: in the enumeration of the subject provinces, those forming the Lombard kingdom are not forgotten: but there is no mention of the provinces granted to the Holy See. And be it remembered, that this partition is expressly stated to embrace the "totum regni corpus," *i.e.*, his entire kingdom. No more decisive proof could be adduced to show that the sovereignty of the States[3] of the Church resided in the Popes exclusively.

[1] According to Anastasius (*Vita Hadriani*, cc. 32-33), this Deed simply confirmed the Popes in those possessions that had been promised to them by Pepin at Quiercy, in 754. "Cumque ipsam promissionem, quae in Francia in loco qui vocatur Carasiacus facta est, sibi relegi fecisset, complacuerunt illi et ejus judicibus omnia quae ibidem erant adnexa, et propria voluntate, bono et libenti animo, aliam donationis promissionem ad instar anterioris ipse antedictus praecellentissimus et revera Christianissimus Carolus Francorum Rex adscribi jussit." In 1802 a document was published from the Venetian archives, known as the Fantuzzian Fragment, from the name of the publisher. It purposes to be a copy of the promise referred to by Anastasius, which Pepin had made at Quiercy. The possessions mentioned in this document are the same as those afterwards confirmed to the Holy See by Charlemagne. Many writers hold that this Fragment is a forgery. See Jungmann, vol. iii., *Diss.* xiv.

[2] Only one of them survived him.

[3] Miley's *Hist. of Papal States*, i. 313; Baluzzi, *Capitulary*, i. 439.

B.—*The Necessity of the Temporal Sovereignty.*

The temporal sovereignty is not of divine institution; neither is it essential to the Papacy, for the Papacy existed and discharged its mission without it for centuries. But, though not essential, it is, in the existing condition of society, both useful and necessary, in order that the Popes may maintain their dignity as the chiefs of Christendom, and discharge the duties of their office with efficiency and freedom.

The head of the Catholic Church should be independent.

(*a*) The Catholic Church is a great society, great both by reason of the numbers which it embraces and of the end for which it has been established; and is superior to any other society on earth. It is not, therefore, becoming that its supreme head should be subject to the rules of an inferior society. The temporal sovereignty is, moreover, necessary in order to ensure the personal safety of the Popes. The present Pontiff could not walk publicly through the streets of Rome without exposing himself to insult and maltreatment from those who act in the interests of a hostile faction. The treatment that would await him can be easily inferred from the disgraceful scene that took place on the occasion of the funeral of Pius IX., when an attempt was made, with the tacit consent of the Government, to throw the body of the dead Pope into the Tiber.[1]

[1] The funeral took place at midnight, in order to avoid hostile demonstrations. Notice had been given to the Government of the time of the funeral, and of the route through which it would pass to the Basilica of St. Laurence, outside the walls, where Pius IX. ordered his body to be buried. Hundreds of the liberal faction, who had learned the time and route of the funeral from Government officials, gathered in the streets and insulted the cortege, opposing to the funeral prayers, hisses, street airs, obscene songs, and imprecations against the dead Pontiff. And this was tolerated by the Government. See Card. Jacobini's letter (July 14th, 1881), announcing the event to the Nuncios at the different courts.

The temporal sovereignty necessary for the efficient discharge of the duties of the Popes.

(*b*) The temporal sovereignty is necessary for the efficient and free discharge of the duties of the Popes. They have children scattered all over the world, in every nation and every clime, who expect that they shall be treated with strict impartiality in the appointment of bishops, the passing of new laws, the creation of cardinals, &c. But how can they look for this impartiality if the Popes are subject to any temporal ruler, and thus fettered in their freedom of action? And even, when acting on the highest principles of honour, there would invariably be a lurking suspicion that they were influenced by the ruling power under which they lived. History tells us, for instance, how injurious to the influence of the Popes was their seventy years' residence at Avignon, when they were too often looked on as tools in the hands of the French kings. Moreover, the Popes have been frequently asked to act as the arbiters of disputes between contending nations, an office for which they are specially fitted. But who would think of appealing to them if they were reduced to the condition of mere subjects of a civil ruler, no matter how powerful.

Such are some of the baneful consequences of the Popes residing as subjects in any country, if they be on friendly terms with the ruling power. If, however, as is the case at present, they be not on such terms, what guarantee have they that their rights shall be respected? The history of the last twenty years shows that these rights may be guaranteed on paper and trampled on in practice by the confiscation of ecclesiastical property.

Papal elections.

(*c*) The temporal sovereignty is also necessary to prevent civil rulers from exercising undue influence over Papal elections, and securing the appointment of their favourites to the Chair of St. Peter.

(*d*) We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that the Catholic World has been so outspoken in declaring the necessity of the temporal sovereignty. Thus, Pius IX., in addressing over three hundred bishops who had assembled in Rome on the occasion of the canonization of the Japanese martyrs, expressed his belief that "the temporal sovereignty had been given to the Holy See by a special providence of God, and that it was necessary in order that the Roman Pontiff should have full freedom in the discharge of his mission of ruling and feeding the flock of Christ." And the bishops whom he addressed placed their opinions on record when they said: "We recognise the necessity and the providential establishment of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See; and we do not hesitate to declare that, in the present condition of society, this sovereignty is absolutely necessary for the free and efficient government of the Church. It is truly fitting that the head of the Catholic Church should be subject to no ruler, and the guest of none." The same opinions have found expression in the hundreds of addresses presented to the Holy See from the Catholic clergy and laity of every country throughout the world. Such a remarkable agreement, especially among those who are best qualified by their position to form a judgment on the subject, should be sufficient to convince at least every Catholic of the necessity of the temporal sovereignty.

Temporal sovereignty declared necessary by Popes and Bishops.

And there have not been wanting even Protestant writers who have been equally explicit as Catholics in defending the necessity of the temporal sovereignty. For instance, Von Müller, the historian of Switzerland, says: "It is absolutely necessary that the Pope should have his own capital, that he may be under the influence of none."

The opinion of some Protestant writers.

And Ranke[1] quotes with approval what has been stated by a speaker at the Council of Basle: "I was once of opinion," said he, "that it would be good to separate the spiritual wholly from the temporal power; but I have learned that virtue would be ridiculous without the aid of power, and that the Pope without the patrimony of the Church would be nothing more than the slave of kings and princes."

Rome a Catholic city.

(*e*) Finally, there are special reasons why Rome should belong to the Pope, and not to any mere temporal ruler. The whole world has contributed to make the history of the Eternal City, and build up its greatness. This was true, to some extent, of Pagan Rome; but it is much more true of Christian Rome. Christians from every part of the world have freely contributed their wealth, and frequently their genius, to raise up those works of art that make Rome peerless among the cities of the earth. As all nations, therefore, have an interest in Rome, it should belong to the Pope, by whom alone they can be represented.

[1] *History of the Popes of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.*

CHAPTER III.

THE ICONOCLASTIC CONTROVERSIES.

THE use of images, and the reverence due to them, have been the subjects of controversy among Christians from the very earliest times. For those who recognise an infallible teaching authority in the Church, the question has been set at rest by the Ecumenical Councils of Nice (787) and Trent (1545-1563); while among those Christians who reject such authority the question is still as much a subject of dispute as ever. Nor is there any sign to indicate that the settlement of the controversy is approaching. We shall describe its origin and principal phases down to the sixteenth century.

Image-worship always practised in the Church.

Images[1] have been at all times used by Christians, and have been looked on as most useful in assisting them in their exercises of devotion. "Images," says St. John Damascene,[2] "are for the unlearned what books are for those who can read: they are to the sight what words are to the ears." That they were used during the first centuries can be easily shown, as well from the large number of them found in the Roman Catacombs, as from the testimony of early writers. Thus, Tertullian[3] speaks

[1] The word *image* is at present generally used to denote a raised figure. We use it, in accordance with its derivative meaning, to signify a likeness of any kind.

[2] Second Oration, 17.

[3] *De Pudicitia*, 10.

of the image of the Good Shepherd which was engraved on the chalices; and St. John Damascene, in his *Three Orations*, proves, by various extracts from the writings of the fathers, that images had been always used and revered by Christians.

Images not so common in the early Church.

Though images were used in the Church during the first three centuries, they were not so common as at a later date. This was chiefly owing to the suspicion with which many Christians viewed works of painting and sculpture, on account of the former association of these arts with idolatrous worship. It was also due to a fear that Gentile converts would not distinguish between absolute and relative worship, but that they would pay to images the same kind of adoration to which they had been accustomed before their conversion to Christianity.

Mostly symbolical.

The images used in the beginning were mostly symbolical, or such as would remind Christians of the different mysteries of their faith, without making them known to the unbeliever. For instance, many of the tombs in the Roman Catacombs have graven on them the image of the Dove, the symbol of the Holy Ghost; of a ship, to represent the Church; of a fish,[1] to designate the Saviour; of an anchor, the symbol of Christian hope, &c.

Images more common after the conversion of Constantine.

After the conversion of Constantine the Great, when the Church emerged from the Catacombs, and Christians were allowed full liberty of religious worship, images began to be extensively used. St. John Chrysostom, speaking of the sign of the Cross, says[2]: "We see it everywhere triumphant: we find it in houses, on the roofs

[1] The Greek word ἰχθύς contains the initial letters of Christ's full name, viz., Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σώτηρ.

[2] Hom. in Matth., 54.

and walls; in cities and towns; along the public highways, and in the deserts; on the hill-tops and in the valleys," &c. And Neander thus describes[1] the popularity of religious representations throughout the Roman Empire at this period: "When it was the fashion for men and women of rank to wear garments on which the whole representation of a chase was embroidered in gold and silver threads, they who made profession of piety, on the other hand, chose the representation of the marriage feast of Cana; of the man sick of the palsy, who took up his bed and walked; of the blind man restored to sight; of the woman with the issue of blood; of Magdalene embracing the feet of the Saviour; of the resurrection of Lazarus."

Abuses connected with image-worship.

The use of images continued to become more popular among the faithful, and especially among those of the East. During the seventh century, certain abuses had begun to make their appearance: some images, for instance, were made sponsors for children; others were represented as having fallen from heaven; while others, in fine, were treated as possessing a power and excellence denied to them by Catholic theology. Such excesses were always condemned by those who spoke the mind of the Church. These latter discriminated between the abuse of images and their legitimate use; and, while reprobating the one, were careful to retain the other. Early, however, in the eighth century a self-constituted reformer made his appearance in the person of Leo the Isaurian (717-741), who confounding the use of images with their abuse, condemned both alike.

Leo, surnamed Isaurian from his birth-place,[2] was a

[1] *Church Hist.* (Eng. Trans.), iii. 408.

[2] Isauria, a district of Asia Minor.

hardy mountaineer of humble origin, who succeeded by his courage and ability in raising himself to the imperial throne. Being once firmly established in his usurped position, he determined to follow the example of so many of his predecessors by meddling in ecclesiastical affairs.

His character.

In 722, he issued an edict commanding the Jews and Mohammedans within his dominions to receive baptism. This edict,[1] together with the violence with which it was enforced, are a sufficient index to the character of the man.

He opposes image-worship

This was, however, but the beginning of his interference in religious questions. He soon turned his attention to the subject of image-worship. In order to put an end to the abuses connected with it, he resolved to abolish the practice entirely among Christians. It is said that his opposition to images arose chiefly from a desire to facilitate the conversion of the Jews and Mohammedans, and to do away with the foundation for the charge of idolatry which was constantly urged against the Christians by the latter.[2]

The opinion of theologians.

He consulted a number of theologians. They were nearly all opposed to his views; some, however, were found servile enough to give the required approval. Chief among the latter was a court chaplain, named Beser, who, after having apostatized and embraced Mohammedanism, had recently returned to the Church, at least in appearance. In the mind of the Emperor the previous character of the

[1] We are told that many of the Jews and Mohammedans committed suicide to escape the harsh treatment to which they were subjected.

[2] Isid, a Mohammedan prince, ordered (715) all the images to be removed from the Christian churches in his dominions, because he looked on them as the objects of idolatrous worship.

man did not detract from the value of his opinion, because it happened to be in accord with his own.

Theological objections against image-worship.

The chief objections urged against image-worship by the imperial theologians were—(*a*) that it was opposed to the second commandment of God, which forbade the making of a "likeness of anything that is in the heavens above, or in the earth beneath, or of those things that are in the waters under the earth;"[1] and (*b*) that it was idolatry.

These objections answered by St. John Damascene.

These objections were answered by many champions of Catholic orthodoxy; but by none with more clearness than by St. John Damascene († 780), the ablest theologian of his time. He was a native of Damascus, from which he takes his name; and was so much admired for his honesty and literary acquirements, even by the Mohammedans, that he was appointed chief councillor to the Caliph Almansur. He soon afterwards resigned this position of honour, and withdrew to the great Laura of St. Sabas, near Jerusalem, where he became a monk, and after a short period of probation, was ordained priest. At the suggestion of his superiors he wrote a defence of image-worship in his *Three Orations*,[2] based chiefly on the traditional teaching of the Church. He showed that it had been practised from the earliest times, and that images were most useful in putting before Christians the truths of their faith, and assisting them in their religious exercises. To the objections raised by the Iconoclast theologians, he replied—(*a*) that either

[1] Exod. xx. 4.

[2] St. John Damascene's greatest work is his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith*, in which he treats of the whole range of theology, and draws largely on the philosophy of Aristotle. In this he anticipated the scholastics of a later date.

the first commandment of the Decalogue regarded only such images[1] as were constructed for idolatrous worship: or that, if it forbade all image-worship, it was merely a ceremonial law intended to apply to the Jews alone, to preserve them from the idolatrous practices of the neighbouring nations. (*b*) He drew a distinction between relative and absolute worship, and showed that we worship images not on account of any excellence or power they possess, but on account of the persons they represent; in other words, that we pay them relative worship.

The edicts of Leo against image-worship.

In the year 724, Leo the Isaurian issued an edict ordering the images in the churches to be raised sufficiently high on the walls, so as to be beyond the reach of the people, and thus initiated the war against image-worship, which was to distract the Christian world for about one hundred and twenty years. This did not, however, satisfy his reforming zeal; he issued another edict in 726, forbidding any veneration to be paid to images. In 730, there appeared a still more sweeping edict, ordering the destruction of all images throughout the empire. Germanus, the aged Patriarch of Constantinople, was deposed, because he dared to protest against the policy of Leo; and Anastasius, a more pliable ecclesiastic, appointed in his place. All the resources of the Emperor were freely used in the enforcement of his edicts. They met with a determined opposition from the majority of the people, who were devoted to the religious practices handed down

[1] That all images were not forbidden by this commandment, is clear both from the context and from the use of images by the Jews themselves. They had, for instance, the cherubim shadowing the mercy-seat, and the twelve oxen supporting the molten sea in Solomon's Temple (1 Kings, vii. 25).

from their ancestors. This opposition was headed by the monks, who had a pecuniary interest in the continuance of image-worship; as it was they who generally supplied the images to the faithful. The execution of the imperial decrees was very often accompanied by popular disturbances, which resulted not unfrequently in the loss of life.

Images disappear from the churches of the East.

Images soon disappeared from the churches of the East, and those who were known to pay cult to them in private were severely punished. A great change was soon effected by the Iconoclasts in the appearance of the places of public worship. Where before used to be painted scenes from the lives of our Lord, the Blessed Virgin, and the saints, there were now depicted landscapes, hunting scenes, vintage revels, and the like.[1] Any kind of picture would be tolerated by this excessively zealous Emperor, provided it had not a religious significance.

The Iconoclasts condemned by Gregory II.

Gregory II. (715-731), who was Pope at the time, could not allow such conduct to pass unnoticed. He wrote two letters to the Emperor, condemning his treatment of images, and setting forth the Catholic doctrine on the reverence due to them. He also held a Synod in Rome, in which the conduct of the Emperor was condemned: the acts of this Synod have not come down to us.

Attempts to make Gregory II. a prisoner.

The Emperor determined to have his revenge on Gregory. He ordered the exarch of Ravenna to proceed to Rome, and bring the Pope a prisoner to Constantinople. The exarch set out immediately for the Eternal City, to which he laid siege; but he was forced to withdraw by the Romans, who were assisted by the Florentines and the

[1] Archbishop Trench, *Med. Church Hist.*, 95.

Lombards of Spoleto. Shortly afterwards, accompanied by Liutprand, King of the Lombards, he renewed his attack on Rome, but was again compelled to withdraw as the Pope prevailed on the Lombard chief to break off his alliance with the Iconoclasts.

Gregory II. and the Italian subjects of Leo.

The abbot Theophanes (747-818) says [1] that Gregory II. released the Western subjects of Leo from their oath of allegiance. His statement is accepted as true by Baronius and Bellarmine, while many historians reject it chiefly on the ground that other centemporary writers, such as Paul the Deacon,[2] and Anastasius,[3] assert that the Italian subjects of Leo would have elected another Emperor but for the interference of the Pope. What they say, however, does not appear to be incompatible with the statement of Theophanes, for the Pope might have released Leo's subjects from their oath of allegiance, and at the same time might have prevented them from appointing another Emperor, as he expected to reclaim Leo to a better sense. On the contrary, what they say seems to bear out what Theophanes states: for why should they contemplate the appointment of another Emperor unless they thought that they were released from their allegiance to the Eastern Emperor?

[1] "Gregorius, qui Roman atque Italiam totumque Occidentem a Leonis obedientia tam civili quam ecclesiastica et ab ejus imperio subtraxit." *Chronogr.*, Ad an. 13um Leonis.

[2] "Omnis quoque Ravennae exercitus vel Venetiarum talibus jussis uno animo restiterunt, et, nisi eos prohibuisset Pontifex, Imperatorem super se constituere fuissent aggressi." *Hist. Longob.*, vi. c. 49.

[3] "Cognita vero imperatoris nequitia omnis Italia consilium iniit, ut sibi eligerent Imperatorem et Constantinopolim ducerent. Sed compescuit tale, consilium Pontifex, sperans conversionem Principis." Lib. Pont., *Vita Greg.* ii.

Gregory III. (731-741) held a Synod at Rome, during the first year of his pontificate, in which all enemies of sacred images were excommunicated. Leo, though not named, was clearly included in the censure. To revenge himself on the Pope, he sent a fleet against Rome; but it never reached its destination, as it was wrecked by a storm in the Adriatic. The possessions of the Holy See in Calabria and Sicily were confiscated, and Illyricum was transferred from the patriarchate of Rome to that of Constantinople.

The Iconoclasts excommunicated.

The Iconoclastic policy of Leo was strictly adhered to by his son and successor, Constantine Copronymous (741-775). The beginning of his reign was signalised by an insurrection among his subjects, headed by his brother-in-law, Artabasdus, an advocate of image-worship, who had himself crowned by Anastasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, during Constantine's absence in the East. On his return to Constantinople, the latter speedily suppressed the revolt, and visited with the most severe punishments all who had taken part in it. He had Anastasius deprived of his sight, and thus exposed to the public gaze; but shortly afterwards he restored him to his see, to mark, as is supposed, his contempt for the clergy.

Constantine Copronymous.

Constantine convened a Council at Constantinople, in 754, at which three hundred and thirty-eight bishops attended, all of whom were his subjects. This Council, for which its partisans claimed the title of Ecumenical, condemned as idolatrous the use of images, and excommunicated all supporters of image-worship, including John Damascene and Germanus, who were specially named. Those who defended the lawfulness of using the images of Christ, were charged with being guilty either of

The pseudo-Ecumenical Council of Constantinople.

Eutychianism, or Nestorianism; of the former, if they maintained that Christ's Divinity was represented by the images; and of the latter, if they denied such representation.[1] The decrees of this Council were condemned by a Synod held at Rome, by Stephen III., in 769; and afterwards by the Ecumenical Council of Nice (787).

Leo IV.

Constantine's successor, Leo IV. (775-780), held the same views regarding images as his two immediate predecessors. He did not, however, treat the orthodox Christians so severely as they had done, owing to the influence of his wife Irene, who was an Athenian by birth, and a devout advocate of images.

Irene an advocate of image-worship.

On the death of Leo, Irene took the reins of government into her own hands during the minority of her son Constantine, who was then but ten years of age. She immediately set about restoring images in the churches throughout the empire, recalled the monks who were in exile, and appointed Tarasius, her own private secretary, to the see of Constantinople. The more effectually to stamp out the Iconoclastic heresy, she resolved to have a General Council convened, and wrote to obtain the consent of Pope Hadrian I. (772-795). Tarasius also wrote to the Pope urging him to consent to the Empress's wish, and asking him to approve his own appointment to the see of

[1] Fecit enim iste talis imaginem nominans eam Christum, et est nomen quod est Christus Deus et homo. Ergo et imago Dei et hominis. Itaque aut circumscripsit, secundum quod visum est vanitati suae, incircumscriptionem Deitatis circumscriptione creatae carnis, aut confudit inconfusibilem unitionem illam confusionis iniquitatem incurrens, duas blasphemias ex hoc Deitati applicans per circumscriptionem et confusionem. Eisdem ergo et is qui adoravit blasphemiis submittitur, et vae utrisque consimile, qui cum Ario et Dioscoro et Eutyche atque cum Acephalorum haeresi erraverunt." Labbe, vii. 435.

Constantinople. Hadrian replied in two letters, one directed to the Empress, and the other to Tarasius, in which he gave his consent to the holding of the Council, on condition that the apostolic doctrine of the Roman Church on image-worship should be received. In his letter to the Empress, he condemned the title of *Ecumenical* applied by her to the Patriarch of Constantinople, and strongly insisted on the restoration of Illyricum to the patriarchate of Rome, and of the estates of the Church confiscated by Leo the Isaurian.

The seventh Ecumenical Council.

The Council was summoned to meet at Constantinople, early in August, 786. The Pope sent two legates to preside in his name; viz., Peter, Archpriest of Rome, and Peter, Abbot of St. Sabas. The first Session was held at Constantinople, on the 17th of August. But owing to the disturbances raised by those who were attached to the memory of the Iconoclastic Emperors, the Council was transferred to Nice, where it was re-opened in the month of September of the following year, three hundred and fifty bishops being present. The attention of the fathers was confined entirely, during the six Sessions held there, to the question of image-worship. They all consented to accept the teaching of the Roman Church. A definition of faith was drawn up, based on the decrees of the two Roman Synods held in 731 and 769, and on the two letters written by Hadrian to Irene and Tarasius. It was decreed that the sacred images of Christ, of the Blessed Virgin and of the saints, should be restored to their places of honour in churches, oratories, and private dwellings; and that it is lawful to pay honour and reverence to them, but not supreme worship, λατρεία *(latria)*, which is due to God alone; "for the honour paid to the image passes to the prototype,

and he who adores (προσκυνῶν) the image adores the person represented by it."[1] The eighth and last Session was held at Constantinople. The decrees, after being subscribed to by the Empress and all the bishops present, were forwarded to Rome to receive the confirmation of the Holy See.

The decrees not formally approved by the Pope.

Hadrian did not give the decrees of the Council his formal sanction. In the first place, there was no necessity for such sanction, as they embodied but the doctrine already defined in two Roman Synods and in his own letters to Irene and Tarasius. And, secondly, there were prudential reasons why he should withhold his formal approval. (*a*) the Pope was anxious to get the decrees of the Council received in the Western Church, before formally approving them; and (*b*) in the letter of the Empress accompanying the decrees, there was no allusion to the title of *Ecumenical*, bestowed by her on the Patriarch of Constantinople, or to the confiscated property of the Holy See in Calabria and Sicily, about which the Pope had already complained. He therefore considered that a formal sanction of the Acts of the Council, in the circumstances, would be construed as a resignation of his claims on the points referred to.

The decrees badly received in the West.

Hadrian had the decrees of the Council translated into Latin; and sent a copy of the translation to Charlemagne. The decrees were badly received in France,[2] owing chiefly

[1] Labbe, vii., 555.

[2] The bad reception of the Nicene decrees in France was due to many causes—(*a*) The Nicene Council was looked on as an exclusively Eastern Council. (*b*) Irene had broken off a marriage alliance that had been agreed to between her son Constantine and the daughter of Charlemagne. (*c*) The works of art were not so common among the Germanic nations as they were among the Greeks; hence the former did not appreciate their usefulness for religious purposes so much as the latter. Moreover, many of the Germanic

to a defective translation by which the fathers of Nice were made to teach that the same kind of worship should be paid to images as that paid to God. A refutation of them soon made its appearance under the name of the *Capitulare Gallorum,* the authorship of which has been generally attributed to Alcuin, who was at the time staying at the French Court. This treatise was afterwards amplified, the enlarged work being known as the *Caroline Books.*[1] In it the errors of the Iconoclasts, and the doctrine ascribed to the Council of Nice were rejected. Its teaching was accepted by the Council of Frankfort (794),

Capitulare Gallorum.

nations were just after having been converted from idolatry ; it may have been feared, therefore, that the use of images would cause them to relapse into their old errors. (*d*) But the chief cause was a defective Latin translation of the Acts of the Council in which the Nicene fathers were represented as teaching that the same worship is to be paid to images that is due to God. In the original copy of the decrees there were two words, λατρευειν and προσκυνεῖν, used to denote the supreme worship of God and the inferior worship of the creature. These two words were rendered into Latin by *adorare,* from which it was inferred that, according to the Nicene fathers, the same kind of worship was to be paid to the Creator and the creature. And this interpretation was confirmed by the statement attributed to a bishop named Constantine, who spoke at the Council. He was made to speak thus by the translation : "Suscipio et amplector honorabiliter sanctas et venerandas imagines, secundum servitium adorationis, quod substantiali et vivificatrici Trinitati emitto ;" whereas what he really said was: "Et ego indignus his consentio et concors efficior, suscipiens et amplectens honorabiliter sanctas et venerabiles imagines ; atque adorationem quae per λατρείαν, *i.e.,* Deo debitam servitutem, efficitur, soli superstantiali et vivificae Trinitati emitto."

That the teaching of the Council of Nice was misunderstood in France, is sufficiently obvious from the words used by the fathers of Frankfort in speaking of its decrees. "We have been asked," said they, "what is to be thought of a Council held by the Greeks at Nice which anathematizes those who do not pay to the images of the saints the worship of adoration due to the Blessed Trinity." Can. ii., Mansi., xiii., 909.

[1] So called either because they were written at Charlemagne's request, or because he took part in the compilation.

at which Charlemagne and three hundred bishops were present, and subsequently by a Council held at Paris, in 825.

The teaching of the Caroline Books about image-worship.

The question of the orthodoxy of the *Caroline Books* has given rise to much controversy. All are agreed—(*a*) that the author or authors condemned the conduct of the Iconoclasts in destroying images; (*b*) that they condemned the doctrine of image-worship ascribed to the Council of Nice; and (*c*) that they recommended the use of images both inside and outside the church, "in loving remembrance of Christ and His saints."[1] It is, however, disputed whether they admitted the lawfulness of the relative worship of images. According to Natalis Alexander,[2] Billuart.[3] and Jungmann,[4] they taught that the relative worship of images was *in se* lawful; and, therefore, in practice, those who were sufficiently educated to distinguish between absolute and relative adoration, might worship images, provided there was no danger of scandal to the weaker brethren; but that the uneducated were not allowed to worship images, on account of their liability to confound the two kinds of worship, nor generally the educated because of the danger of scandal. Hence, according to these writers, the teaching of the *Caroline Books* is sound on the speculative doctrine of image-worship, but errs on the question of practice.

When Hadrian heard of the bad reception accorded to the Nicene decrees in France, he wrote a letter[5] to

[1] Labbe, *Coll. Conc.*, vii. 960.
[2] *Dissert. in Sacc.* 8um.
[3] *De Cultu Imag.*, Diss. xxiii., art. 3.
[4] *Diss. in Hist. Eccl.* iii. 68.
[5] Harduin, *Coll. Conc.*, iv. 774.

Charlemagne, in which he set forth the true doctrine of image-worship defined by the Council of Nice, and disowned the erroneous teaching ascribed to it in the defective translation of its Acts.

War against images renewed by Leo V.

The war against image-worship, which ceased with the death of Leo IV., in 780, was renewed by Leo V., called the Armenian (813-820), and continued during the reigns of his successors, Michael II. (820-829), and Theophilus (829-842). As it was a woman who put an end to the first period of the war against images, so it was a woman who put an end to the second. On the death of Theophilus, his wife Theodora, an ardent advocate of image-worship, became regent during the minority of her son. She ordered the images to be restored throughout her dominions, and the exiled monks to be recalled. A Synod was held at Constantinople in 842, which condemned the errors of the Iconoclasts, and approved the decrees of Nice. To commemorate the defeat of Iconoclasm and the final triumph of image-worship, the Feast of Orthodoxy was established, which is still celebrated in the Eastern Church on the 19th of February each year.

Theodora an advocate of image-worship.

Claudius of Turin.

One of the most active opponents of image-worship, during the second period of the controversy, was Claudius, Bishop of Turin. He was a Spaniard by birth, and was appointed Bishop of Turin by Louis the Mild, in order, it is said, to bring about a much-needed reform among the clergy of that diocese. He caused all the pictures and sacred relics to be removed from the churches, and wrote against the use of images in a work styled the *Apology against the abbot Theodemir.* [1] This work called forth a

[1] This was a reply to a work written against him by his former friend, the abbot Theodemir.

Refuted by Dungal.

number of replies; the most complete was from the pen of an exiled Irishman named Dungal. He was a Monk in deacon's orders, and was remarkable as a theologian, as a philosopher, and as a poet. After his departure from Ireland, he spent some time in the Abbey of St. Denys, in France, where he wrote (811) an epistle addressed to Charlemagne on two solar eclipses, which occurred in 810. He afterwards removed to Pavia, where he taught for some years the students who came in large numbers from different parts of Italy to hear his lectures. It was here he wrote, in 827, his refutation of the errors of Claudius, in his *Responsa contra perversas Claudii Taurinensis Episcopi Sententias.*[1]

The Catholic doctrine of image-worship was rejected by some of the sectaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and by the pseudo-reformers of the sixteenth century. But while the latter agreed in rejecting the Catholic doctrine, they differed very much among themselves in their teaching on the subject. Thus, the Zwinglians and Calvinists condemned the use of images; the Lutherans retained them as useful in exciting the faith and devotion of Christians; while the early English Reformers were as much divided in their opinions as their successors are to-day. The errors of these sectaries were condemned, and the points of Catholic doctrine denied by them were fully defined by the Council of Trent in its twenty-fifth session.

[1] *Vide* Lanigan's *Eccles. Hist. of Ireland*, vol. ii., 256-264.

CHAPTER IV.

ADOPTIONISM.

Difference between Adoptionism and Nestorianism.

THIS heresy, which originated in Spain towards the end of the eighth century, taught that there was a twofold personality [1] in Christ, viz., the divine and the human; and that Christ, as man, was not the natural, but only the *adopted* Son of God. It may, therefore, be said to have been a revival, at least in part, of Nestorianism. There were, however, some points of difference between the two heresies. (*a*) The Adoptionists admitted, the Nestorians rejected, the application of the term Theotokos (Mother of God) to the Blessed Virgin. (*b*) The former maintained, the latter denied, that Christ, as man, was the Son of God. (*c*) The Adoptionists taught, that the union between the twofold Personality of Christ was so intimate that the actions of each could be attributed to the other (Communicatio Idiomatum): such a union was rejected by the Nestorians.

Felix and Elipand.

Felix, Bishop of Urgel in Catalonia, was, if not the author, at least the most prominent exponent and defender of this heresy. He deduced his system from a false understanding of the writings of the fathers, who frequently spoke of God as *adopting*, i.e., assuming human nature,

[1] They did not teach the doctrine of a twofold Personality in Christ *explicitly*; but they did so *implicitly*, by teaching a twofold *Filiation*. Palma, ii. 43; Perrone, *Prael. Theo.*, ii. 328.

which he interpreted to mean, that God the Father adopted the man Christ as His Son. He entered into a correspondence, in 783, with Elipand, Archbishop of Toledo, who was well known to hold strange opinions on the Incarnation. The latter was superior to Felix in position, but his inferior in literary attainments.

Their doctrines.

Their views appear to have been somewhat different at first; but after a short time the points of difference disappeared, and they agreed to teach, "that as to His Divinity, Christ was by nature and truly the Son of God: but that as man, He was the Son of God in name and by adoption only; that He was adopted into Sonship by God in the same sense as men loved of God become His children; that the difference between the two cases was one of degree, and not of kind; that this solemn act of adoption took place at the moment of baptism in the Jordan, when God the Father uttered the words, '*This is My beloved Son;*' and that as man may be both a natural and an adopted son, so also was Christ by nature the Son of David, and by grace or adoption the Son of God." [1]

Letters of Hadrian to Spanish bishops.

Pope Hadrian wrote to the Spanish bishops, about 785, to warn them against the dangerous errors of Felix and Elipand. At the same time, two treatises were written in refutation of their errors by Beatus, Abbot of Valliscava, and Etherius, Bishop of Osma. Notwithstanding the solemn warning of the Pope, and the writings of Beatus and Etherius, the Adoptionist heresy spread rapidly among the clergy and laity of the dioceses of Urgel and Toledo. Many were induced to embrace it by the belief that the doctrine of the Incarnation, as explained by the Adoptionists, would be less objectionable to the Mohammedans,

[1] Alzog., ii. 130.

who then ruled in Spain; and that thus their conversion to Christianity would be much facilitated.

Synod of Ratisbon.

As the heresy continued to spread in Spain, a Council was held at Ratisbon, in 792, to adopt measures in defence of Christian orthodoxy. Felix and Elipand were summoned to attend. The former, whose see was situated within the limits of the Frankish kingdom, obeyed the summons; but the latter refused to appear at this or any other Council. Adoptionism was formally condemned, and Felix retracted his heretical opinions, after which he was sent to Rome to clear himself of all suspicion of heterodoxy. Here he renewed his retractation; but, on returning to his diocese shortly afterwards, he relapsed into his former errors.

Councils of Frankfort and Friuli.

The relapse of Felix called forth additional works in defence of the Catholic faith, the most learned being those written by Alcuin, and Paulinus, Archbishop of Aquileia. The question was brought before the Council of Frankfort, in 794. Felix fled to Elipand, and refused to attend at the Council. His heresy was condemned, and declared to be one "that ought to be utterly rooted out of the Church."[1] The heresy was again condemned by the Council of Friuli (796), which defined, that "one and the same Christ is son of man and Son of God; not the putative, but the real Son of God; proper, and not adoptive, in each of His natures; forasmuch as, after His assumption of manhood, one and the same Person is without confusion or separation Son of God and man."[2]

Council of Aix-la-Chapelle.

In 799, a Council was held at Aix-la-Chapelle, at which Felix attended. He entered into a lengthened disputation

[1] Can. i., *Hard.*, iv. 904.
[2] *Hard.*, iv. 756.

with Alcuin, which lasted for six days. He finally retracted his errors; but was not allowed to return to his diocese because of his former relapse. He was detained in the custody of the Archbishop of Lyons during the remainder of his life.[1] Charlemagne sent missionaries to the diocese of Urgel to combat the Adoptionist heresy; they succeeded within a short time in bringing back to the Church most of those who had been led astray by Felix.

End of the heresy.

Elipand obstinately adhered to his errors till his death (810). After this, the heresy rapidly disappeared in the country of its birth. It has been revived from time to time, but has never been widely spread.

[1] Agobard, who was Archbishop of Lyons at the time, says (*Adv. Felicem*, 1-6) that it is doubtful whether he died in the orthodox faith, as there was a paper found after him re-asserting the chief points of his heresy.

CHAPTER V.

CONTROVERSY ON PREDESTINATION: GOTTSCHALK.

Gottschalk.

THE controversy to which the writings of St. Augustine on grace and free-will had given rise in the fifth century was revived, at least in part, during the ninth, by a monk named Gottschalk. He was the son of Berno, a Saxon count; and at an early age was placed by his father in the monastery of Fulda. Berno acted in accordance with a custom, sanctioned by some local Councils,[1] which allowed a father to compel his children to embrace the religious state. When Gottschalk arrived at man's estate he expressed dissatisfaction with a mode of life for which he had no taste; and applied to a Synod held at Mentz (829), under the presidency of Archbishop Otgar, for a release from his vows. His petition was granted; but Raban Maur, abbot of Fulda, appealed to Louis the Mild against the action of the Synod. The Emperor decided in favour of Raban Maur, and commanded Gottschalk to remain a monk; but allowed him, on account of the

Placed in a monastery by his father.

[1] *v. g.*, the fourth Council of Toledo says: "Monachum facit aut propria confessio aut paterna devotio." In the early ages of the Church, the rule was that children who had been placed in monasteries by their parents should, on attaining the age of discretion, have the choice of continuing in the religious state or withdrawing from it. During the seventh century, the custom was introduced into some countries of compelling them to remain religious. Shortly after the time of Gottschalk, the original rule of the Church was generally followed. The Council of Trent decreed that no one should be admitted to religious profession before the age of sixteen.

strained relations between himself and the abbot, to remove to the monastery of Orbais, in the diocese of Soissons. Gottschalk endeavoured to find consolation for his disappointment in studying the writings of some of the fathers, especially those of St. Augustine. From the latter he constructed a system of predestination which was at variance, at least in terminology, with the generally received teaching of the time.

His teaching on Predestination.

Gottschalk taught—(*a*) a twofold predestination, viz., one to eternal life, and the other to eternal punishment; (*b*) God did not wish all men to be saved, but only the elect; hence Christ did not die for all men; (*c*) the elect cannot avoid being saved, neither can the reprobate escape eternal death.

His views became public in 847, when, on his return from Rome, he explained them to Notting, Bishop of Verona, whom he met at the hospice of Eberhard, Count of Friuli. Shortly afterwards Notting happened to meet Raban Maur, recently appointed Archbishop of Mentz, at the French Court, and explained to him the doctrines of Gottschalk. Raban Maur immediately set about writing a refutation of them: he maintained that there was but one predestination, viz., that to glory; that God's relation to the reprobate should be expressed, not by *predestination*, but by *foreknowledge*; and that Christ died for all men. Gottschalk wrote a reply, in which he strongly insisted that his opinions had been misrepresented.

Raban Maur writes against him.

His condemnation.

The question was brought before a second Synod held at Mentz, in 848. This Synod accepted the teaching of Raban Maur, and rejected that of Gottschalk as heterodox. The latter refused to retract his teaching, upon which he was sent to his Metropolitan, Hincmar of Rheims, by whom

he was teated with great harshness. Another Synod, held at Quiercy, in 849, declared also in favour of Raban Maur, and condemned Gottschalk to imprisonment for life in the monastery of Hautvilliers, in the diocese of Rheims. The condemnation of the latter's teaching was renewed by a second Synod held at Quiercy, in 853.

His opinions defended.

Gottschalk had many followers in France: his opinions were defended by Remigius, Archbishop of Lyons, Ratramn, a monk of Corbie, and others. His chief opponents were Raban Maur and Hincmar of Rheims, the latter of whom wrote his work, *On Predestination*, to refute his teaching. A heated controversy was carried on between the two sides, which attracted considerable attention for about ten years.

Scotus Erigena.

At the request of Hincmar, Scotus Erigena,[1] who was then staying at the French Court, took part in the controversy, but only to be rejected by the side whose cause he professed to champion. He fell into Pelagian errors; and was so far carried away by the doctrine of Platonic philosophy, of which he was an ardent student, as to teach that God could not foresee sin and punishment, as they are mere privations; and that, consequently, He could not predestine to them. His errors were condemned by the Councils of Valence (855) and Langres (859), and by Nicholas I. (858-867).

[1] As his name indicates, he was an Irishman by birth; though there have not been wanting some Scotch writers who claim him for Ayrshire, as if Erigena meant a native of Ayr. He was not a Monk, neither was he in Holy Orders. He had a thorough knowledge of Greek and Latin, and was an ardent student of Greek, and especially of Platonic philosophy: his knowledge of theology, however, was very imperfect. He visited France about 840, and was kindly received by Charles the Bald, with whom he lived on intimate terms of friendship. He translated the works ascribed to Denys the Areopagite; and appears to have been the first to throw doubt on the identity of the latter with Denys, the first Bishop of Paris.

Synod of Toucy.

The controversy was practically terminated by the Synod of Toucy (860), at which fifty-seven bishops attended. Following the teaching of the second Synod of Quiercy, and Hincmar's work, *On Predestination*, the fathers of Toucy defined—(*a*) that there is but one predestination; (*b*) the free-will of man before it is capable of doing good requires antecedent and assisting grace; (*c*) that God wills all men to be saved; and (*d*) that Christ died for all men.

Gottschalk still refused to retract his opinions. These he fully explained in two confessions of faith, drawn up during his confinement, and discovered after his death (869). He died without the last sacraments, as he refused to accept the teaching of Hincmar; and was buried in unhallowed ground.[1]

The orthodoxy of Gottschalk.

Up to recent times it was the generally received opinion that Gottschalk was heterodox in belief. Many modern writers, however, are inclined to view his teaching in a more favourable light. It is certain that he departed from the usually received terminology of his age, in speaking of the relation between God and the reprobate. This relation he expressed by the term *predestination*; while most of his contemporaries held that it should be spoken of as *foreknowledge*. It appears equally certain that there is no conclusive evidence to show that he was heterodox in belief. (*a*) There is nothing in his two confessions, nor in his metrical epistle to Ratramn,[2] which cannot be easily explained in a Catholic sense. Thus, he speaks of a *twofold*

[1] The Holy See took no part in the controversy, though frequently requested to interfere.

[2] The two confessions and his epistle to Ratramn are given in Migne's *Latin Patrology*, vol. cxxi.

predestination, viz., one the gratuitous *predestination* of the elect to glory; the other, the *predestination* of the wicked to punishment, *not to sin*—an error attributed to him by some of his opponents—and to punishment, only *after the foreknowledge*[1] *of their sin* by God (*post praevisa peccata*). His opinion on this point being once understood, his other statements are easily explained in an orthodox sense. (*b*) The number of learned and pious men who undertook to defend his opinions, and repudiated the errors ascribed to him by his opponents, supply a strong argument in favour of his orthodoxy.

His character.

Whatever may be said of his orthodoxy, it is admitted on all sides that he was a man of strong sectarian feelings, who wrote of his opponents in a haughty and contemptuous tone. This brought on him much of the severity to which he was subjected by his ecclesiastical superiors; though few will be prepared to justify the harshness of his treatment[2] by Hincmar.

[1] "Credo et confiteor Deum omnipotentem et incommutabilem praescisse et praedestinasse angelos sanctos ad vitam gratis aeternam, et ipsum diabolum caput omnium daemoniorum cum omnibus suis apostaticis, et cum ipsis quoque hominibus reprobis, membris videlicet suis, *propter praescita certissime ipsorum propria futura mala merita* praedestinasse pariter per justissimum judicium in mortem merito sempiternam." Confess. Gottsch., Migne's *Lat. Patr.*, vol. cxxi., p. 347.

[2] We are told that, on refusing to yield to the decision of the Council of Quiercy (849), he was flogged, after which he was required to throw his writings into the fire (Rem., *De Tribus Epistolis*, c. 25). After this he was removed to the monastery of Hautvilliers, "where, it is said, that in respect of food, drink, and fuel, he was as well treated as any of the monks with whom he lived; that clothes were supplied if he would receive them; but that ever since he was placed at Hautvilliers he refused to wash not only his body, but even his face and hands." Rob., iii. 366; Hinc. ii. 292.

CHAPTER VI.

NEW ECCLESIASTICAL DIGNITARIES: CANONS AND CARDINALS.

A.—*Canons.*

St. Chrodegang.

ST. CHRODEGANG, Archbishop[1] of Metz (742-766), is generally set down as the founder of the *canonical* form of life among the secular clergy. And the honour may be fairly claimed for him, because, though community life, which is the basis of the canonical, had been introduced among their priests by Eusebius of Vercelli, Augustine, Hilary of Arles, and others, yet it was reserved for Chrodegang to reduce it to system, and give it permanency by drawing up a rule for the guidance of those who should embrace it. He brought the clergy of his cathedral together into one house, in 760, and drew up a rule for their observance—hence their name. They had a uniform dress, a common table, and a common dormitory, except in so far as the bishop, who lived with them as their superior, granted them exemption. They recited the divine office in choir, and devoted a considerable portion of each day to the study of the sacred sciences. This mode of life fostered piety and learning among the clergy of Metz: their example was soon followed in other parts of France and Germany.

Cathedral and collegiate Canons.

So popular did the canonical mode of life become, that it was adopted not only by the cathedral clergy, but also by those of the more important rural parishes. The

[1] Up to the time of St. Chrodegang, Metz was an ordinary see, but out of consideration for his merits, it was raised to the dignity of an archiepiscopal see.

former were called *cathedral*, the latter *collegiate Canons*. Charlemagne had various enactments passed during his reign requiring the ecclesiastics within his dominions either to join religious orders or to embrace the *canonical* life. Notwithstanding these enactments, the large majority of the clergy of France and Germany still continued to live as seculars. On account of the strict lives led by the Canons, they soon began to enjoy the popularity so long confined to religious orders, and to receive liberal donations from the faithful. The wealth which thus flowed in on them made their position one of great influence in the diocese; and this was particularly true of the cathedral Canons, who were the advisers of the bishop in the administration of his diocese.

Canons claim the administration of their property.

According to the rule of St. Chrodegang, the bishop had the management of the cathedral revenues; but he was required to set aside a certain portion for the maintenance of the Canons. After some time, however, the ownership of the revenues gave rise to disputes between bishops and their Canons. The question was settled for the diocese of Cologne by a Synod held there in 873, which decreed that the Canons should have the management of the property which the bishop was formerly obliged to set apart for their use. The example of Cologne was soon followed in other dioceses where the canonical system had been introduced. This was but the beginning of the end of canonical life.

The success which attended the Canons in their first demand encouraged them to advance new ones. They soon claimed a distribution of their property among the individual members, and exemption from the obligation of living in community. The new demands were also

conceded in many dioceses early in the tenth century. Then was introduced, for the first time, the distinction between *Canons regular* and *secular*. The former continued to observe the rule of community life introduced by St. Chrodegang; while the latter lived apart retaining the name and rank of Canons without performing any of the canonical duties. Various efforts were made to recall them to their original mode of life. Nicholas II. held a Council at Rome, in 1059, which ordered that they should live in community, and that they should have a common table and a common dormitory. But his efforts, as well as those of others who laboured in the same direction, failed to effect the desired reformation.

Canons regular and secular.

With the increased importance of their position, the Canons became more particular about the persons who were to be admitted into their ranks. They were most unwilling to admit any except such as had wealth and position to recommend them. This was one of the chief causes that led to the decay of canonical life among the secular clergy.

B.—*Cardinals.*

In the early ages of the Church, the term *Cardinal* was applied to the more prominent clergy of each diocese, or such as had obtained a fixed ecclesiastical appointment. Towards the end of the eighth century, it was applied in a special sense to the cathedral canons, as they formed the Bishop's Council, and were supposed to be the hinge (*cardo*) on which the diocese moved. During the eleventh century, the title became more restricted, and was applied only to those who formed the Pope's Council, and assisted him in the government of the Church: such were the bishops of the sees in the immediate vicinity of Rome, and the priests

Meaning of the term *Cardinal*.

and deacons permanently attached to the churches of the City. Their chief duties were to assist the Pope in the government of the Church, and to elect a successor to a deceased Pope. These duties, which have been always substantially the same, were obviously such as were calculated to make their position one of honour and influence. Hence they soon began to take precedence of bishops, and even of Archbishops and primates.

Restricted during the eleventh century to advisers of the Popes.

In the twelfth century, the Sacred College consisted of seven Cardinal Bishops, twenty-eight Cardinal Priests, and eighteen Cardinal Deacons.

The Cardinal Bishops[1] were those occupying the seven suburbicarian sees about Rome, viz., Ostia, Porto, Santa Rufina, Albano. Sabina, Frascati, and Palestrina. Their number was afterwards reduced to six by the union of the sees of Santa Rufina and Porto. Each of the Cardinal Bishops was supposed to assist the Pope in turn in the performance of his episcopal duties in Rome. It is the privilege of the Cardinal Bishop of Ostia to consecrate the newly-elected Pope, in which ceremony he is assisted by the Bishops of Porto and Albano.

Cardinal Bishops.

The Cardinal Priests were those who had charge of the churches in Rome. Towards the end of the twelfth century the custom was introduced, which prevails at present, of selecting them from different countries and different conditions of life. They take their titles from some church in Rome, the missionary duties of which are discharged by others. Foreign bishops who are appointed Cardinals, are simply Cardinal Priests.

Cardinal Priests.

[1] It was only during the eighth century that the Suburbicarian Bishops about Rome were fully recognised as forming a part of the Sacred College; though, before this time they were sometimes called in by the Popes to assist by their advice in the Government of the Church.

Cardinal Deacons.

The Cardinal Deacons, originally only seven in number, and afterwards increased to eighteen, had charge of some of the places of public worship in Rome, and of the districts into which it was divided. They attended the Pope when officiating in public; hence they were obliged to reside in the Eternal City, except they were specially exempted. Cardinal Deacons may be, and at present usually are, priests.

Full number of the Sacred College.

The full number of the Sacred College has varied at different times. In the twelfth century, as we have seen, it was fifty-three; at an earlier date it was not so large; and at present the full number, as fixed by Sixtus V., in 1586, is seventy, viz., six Cardinal Bishops, fifty Cardinal Priests, and fourteen Cardinal Deacons. The Sacred College is scarcely ever full, as some vacancies are generally left to reward cases of special merit when they occur.

Rights and privileges of Cardinals.

Various marks of distinction have been conferred on the Cardinals at different times. Nicholas II. reserved to them the *exclusive* right of electing Popes; Innocent IV. (1243-1254) gave them the red hat, to indicate that they should be prepared to shed their blood for the Church, if required; Pius V. (1566-72) forbade any person to assume the title of Cardinal, except he had received it from the Holy See; and Urban VIII. (1623-1644) conferred on them the title of Eminence. The Council of Trent ordered that they should be selected from all parts of the Christian world. When the Cardinals meet to elect a Pope, they form a *Conclave*; and when they assemble, under the presidency of the Pope, to discuss questions of Church or State, we have what is known as a *Consistory*, which is public or private, according as the representatives of the public are admitted or excluded.

CHAPTER VII.

THE PSEUDO-ISIDORIAN DECRETALS.

ABOUT the middle of the ninth century, there appeared a collection of canons and decretals,[1] called the Pseudo-Isidorian Collection, which has given rise to much controversy, and is constantly referred to by anti-Catholic writers in their attacks on the Church.

Chief collections of Canon Law before the ninth century.

Before the appearance of these canons and decretals there had been various collections of Canon Law in use in the Church. Of the latter the following are the most noteworthy—(*a*) the Dionysian Collection, made about 510 by Dionysius Exiguus († 556), which contained the fifty Apostolic and other canons, together with the decretals issued by Popes, from Siricius (385-398) to Anastasius II. (496-497). (*b*) The Isidorian Collection used in Spain, consisting of the Dionysian Collection and the Canons of some Spanish Councils. (*c*) The Codex Hadrianeus, used in France, which, in addition to the Dionysian Collection, contained many canons and decretals that were specially applicable to the French Church.

Pseudo-Isidorian Collection.

The Pseudo-Isidorian Collection contained, in addition to the canons and decretals of previous collections, many others, published now for the first time, on various points of Canon Law, Dogmatic and Moral Theology, and

[1] *Decretals* are letters written by Popes regarding matters on which their decision is appealed to.

Ecclesiastical Discipline. In the older collections, the decretals began with that addressed by Pope Siricius to Himerius, a Spanish bishop. In the new collection, there were as many as ninety-six decretals attributed to different Popes, between Clement, the last Pope of the first century, and Damasus (366-384). It may be divided into three parts: the first consisting of sixty-one decretals, said to have been written by Popes from Clement to Melchiades (311-314); the second, of the canons of councils, taken mostly from the genuine Isidorian Collection; and the third, the various decretals attributed to Popes from Sylvester I. (314-335) to Gregory II. (715-731), of which thirty-five are ascribed to Popes before Siricius.[1]

Its authenticity.

The authenticity of this collection of canons and decretals does not appear to have been questioned up to the fifteenth century, when Nicholas of Cusa showed—(*a*) that the collection itself was not authentic, as it contained the canons of councils held long after the death of Isidore of Seville (636); and (*b*) that the decretals ascribed to Popes before Siricius, as well as many canons, had been forged. In proof of the latter point, various arguments were adduced by Nicholas and other writers. (1) The decretals are not found in the collection of Dionysius, though he professed to give all the decretals found in the Roman archives, to which he had free access; neither are they referred to in the writings of any author before his time. (2) Many of them contain extracts from Sacred Scripture, quoted according to the vulgate version of St. Jerome, which was not made before the fifth century. (3) Some of them, supposed to have been written when

[1] See Giesler, *E. H.* (Eng. ed.), ii. 325.

the Roman Empire was still governed by pagan emperors, contain complaints regarding the invasion of Church property by laymen. Such complaints, made at a time when the Church had no property to tempt the avaricious would be unintelligible. (4) Persons living centuries apart are represented as corresponding. And (5) many canons passed after the time of Isidore, are attributed to councils held before the sixth century.

Nature of the forgery.

The author of the forgery borrowed the contents of the spurious decretals and canons from various sources, such as the writings of the fathers, the decretals of modern Popes, and the decrees of recent Councils. He expressed the opinions of the fathers in the form of ecclesiastical canons or decretals, and antedated the decretals of modern Popes, and the canons of recent Councils, by referring them to early Popes and Councils. Pseudo-Isidore did not, therefore, originate the substance of his collection of Church Law. He was, however, guilty of a twofold forgery—(*a*) by ascribing the collection to St. Isidore; and (*b*) by attributing decretals to Popes from whom they did not emanate, and canons to Councils by which they were not passed. The collection was attributed to St. Isidore,[1] and the decretals and canons to early Popes and Councils, for the purpose of securing for them an authority which they would not otherwise possess.

Time and place of forgery.

The collection was forged between 829 and 857; for it contains a canon passed by a Council held at Paris in 829, though ascribed to a previous Council; and some canons were quoted from it in a synodal letter addressed to

[1] In most MSS. the epithet *Mercator* is added; in others, instead of *Mercator*, we have *Peccator*

Charles the Bald by the French bishops assembled at Quiercy, in 857.

While some hold that Italy was the country of the forgery, and others Spain, it appears to be the generally received opinion among modern writers that the forgery was executed in France, both because of the large number of canons of French Councils that it contains, and of the many forms of expression peculiarly French to be found in it.

Its author.

There is a hopeless disagreement among critics about its authorship. The opinion which ascribes it to Benedict the Levite, a deacon of Mentz, appears the more probable. He forged a collection of Capitularies; and there are so many points of resemblance between the contents of the two collections, that one is said to have been used in the fabrication of the other.

Its purpose.

The purpose of the forgery is also a subject of controversy. Some say its purpose was to increase the power of the Popes; others, to protect the bishops and priests of France against the arbitrary power claimed by metropolitans; while others hold that the collection was forged in the interest of the French Church, to protect ecclesiastical property against invasion by the lay lords. "The opinion of the most judicious inquirers," says[1] Canon Robertson, "appears to be that the decretals were fabricated for the benefit of the clergy, and more especially of the bishops; that they were designed to protect the property of the Church against invasion, and to fix the privileges of the hierarchy on a basis independent of secular authority; that the metropolitans were especially assailed because

[1] *E.H.*, iii. 322.

they had been the chief instruments by which the Carlovingian princes had been able to govern the bishops, to depose such of them as were obnoxious, and to sway the discussions of synods."

To protect bishops and priests against the metropolitans.

That the fabrication was primarily in the interests of the bishops and priests, and against the metropolitans, is obvious from the large number of canons contained in the collection limiting the power of the latter to take cognizance of charges against the former. This was effected—(*a*) by requiring the metropolitans to get the permission of the Pope before holding a Synod to inquire into charges against bishops and priests; (*b*) by making it difficult, if not impossible, to procure admissible[1] evidence against bishops and priests; and (*c*) by taking the deposition of bishops, as being one of the *Causae Majores*, out of the hands of the metropolitans, and referring it to the Holy See. Besides the protection of the bishops and clergy against the metropolitans, which was the chief purpose of the forger, he appears to have had another object in view, viz., to protect the property of the French Church against usurpation by the lay lords, and to make the Church independent of the State. For about a century after the death of Charlemagne, France and Germany were in a very distracted state, owing to the numerous wars carried on between his successors; the estates of the Church were frequently confiscated, and bishops subjected to various punishments, and sometimes even deposed by civil tribunals. Many Councils were held in France to protest against such conduct, the canons of which were

[1] It was required, for instance, that a charge against a bishop should be tried before twelve bishops, and proved by seventy-two witnesses; a charge against a priest was to be tried before six bishops, and proved by forty-four witnesses

attributed to earlier Councils, and embodied in the Pseudo-Isidorian Collection.

Effect of Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals on Church discipline.

It has been commonly asserted by non-Catholic writers, that Church discipline was essentially changed by the Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals, as they conferred on the Popes rights and privileges not enjoyed by them previously. The following are the chief rights said to have been granted to them:—(*a*) they are empowered to depose bishops and priests; (*b*) no Council can be held without their consent; (*c*) they can receive appeals from any part of the Church; (*d*) they have no superior on earth by whom they can be judged; and (*e*) the Greater Causes, to which the deposition of bishops belongs, cannot be disposed of without their sanction.

No essential change introduced.

First.—These rights and privileges are but the necessary consequence of the Primacy of the Popes, which, as we have seen, was always recognised in the Church; and were, therefore, admitted before the publication of the *False Decretals*.

Secondly.—We shall show that each of the rights referred to was admitted from the very earliest times; and that, therefore, they had not their origin, as some Protestant writers [1] assert, in a system of fraud and forgery.

Deposition of bishops and priests.

(*a*) The Popes always claimed the right of deposing bishops and priests, and of restoring them to their offices, when unjustly deposed. This right was acknowledged by Christians from the earliest times. For instance, Clement, the last Pope of the first century, restored the Corinthian priests who appealed to him. St. Cyprian wrote to Pope Stephen, asking him to depose two Spanish bishops who had apostatized during the Decian persecution; and a

[1] Mosheim, *Inst. H. Eccl.*, sec. ix., part 2, § 2.

priest of Chalcedon, who had been deposed by the Patriarch of Constantinople, appealed to Gregory the Great, by whom he was restored to his office.

Holding of Councils.

(*b*) The consent of the Popes was always required for the holding of Councils. Thus, Dioscorus was condemned at the Council of Chalcedon, because he dared to hold a Council *without the consent of the Pope, which was never lawful* (*quod nunquam licuit*). The express consent of the Pope was not necessary; the implicit, or such as was contained in the sanction of the ecclesiastical law in accordance with which the Council was held, being deemed sufficient. The express permission of the Holy See appears to have been commanded by the *False Decretals*. But this was rather a change in the course of procedure than the introduction of a law granting new powers to the Popes. Moreover, even after the publication of the *Decretals*, the express consent of the Pope was not required for the holding of provincial Councils.

Appeals.

(*c*) The right of appeal to the Pope from inferior tribunals was always recognised, and was solemnly sanctioned by the great Council of Sardica,[1] in 343. This right, as we have seen, was frequently availed of by St. Athanasius and others, to defend themselves against their enemies. When, however, Apiarius, an African priest, appealed to Pope Zosimus (417-418) against the decision of a provincial Synod, many of the African bishops, assembled at Carthage, in 418, condemned *Transmarine Appeals*. But the Popes always refused to accept their view, as being totally at variance with the received principles of Church government; and we find St. Celestine receiving an appeal from the same Apiarius, in 422. According to the Pseudo-

[1] Cans. iii., iv., and v.

Isidorian Decretals, a person could appeal to the Pope, not only after judgment had been pronounced, a right sanctioned by the Council of Sardica; but also before the case had been tried, if he believed the judges were biassed against him. This, however, is but a modification of an old, and not the introduction of a new law.

The Pope has no superior.

(*d*) The Decretals declare that the Pope has no superior on earth, and can, therefore, be judged by God alone. This is simply another way of expressing the Catholic doctrine of the Primacy.

Causae majores.

(*e*) The Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals recognise a distinction between the *greater* (*causae majores*) and the *lesser causes* (*causae minores*). In the case of the former, to which all questions involving the deposition of bishops belonged, provincial Councils were allowed simply to collect evidence, and forward it to the Popes, with whom the final decision rested. Such a distinction had been known long before the publication of the Decretals. Innocent I. (402-417), in writing to Victricius, Bishop of Rouen, declares [1] that the *greater causes* should be referred to the Holy See, in accordance "with conciliar enactments and ancient custom." And Julius I. (337-352) wrote [2] to the Arian bishops condemning them for daring to pass sentence of deposition

[1] "Si majores causae in medium devolutae fuerint, sicut synodus statuit, et vetus consuetudo exigit, ad Sedem Apostolicam, post episcopale judicium, referantur." Hard., i. 999.

[2] "Nam si, ut dicitis omnino in culpa fuerunt, oportuit secundum ecclesiasticum canonem, et non isto modo judicium fieri: oportuit scribere omnibus nobis (ipsi et ejus synodo), ut ita ab omnibus quod justum esset decerneretur; episcopi enim erant qui patiebantur, nec vulgares ecclesiae quae vexabantur, sed quas ipsi Apostoli per se gubernarunt. Cur igitur et in primis de Alexandrina civitate nihil nobis scriptum est? An ignoratis *hanc esse consuetudinem*, ut primum nobis scribatur, ut hinc quod justum est definiri possit." Hard., i. 636.

against St. Athanasius and other orthodox bishops without any reference to the Holy See, thereby implying that the deposition of bishops was one of the *greater causes* reserved to the Pope. The discipline of the Church, however, on this point appears to have varied at different times; for we find that bishops were deposed by provincial Councils during the seventh and eighth centuries, without the *express* consent of the Holy See. Against this practice there were canons passed by French Councils during the first half of the ninth century, reserving all causes involving the deposition of bishops to the Holy See. These canons were embodied in the collection of *False Decretals.*

Modifications of Church discipline recently introduced made permanent.

Thirdly.—We admit that there were some modifications of the ancient disciplinary laws of the Church introduced during the latter part of the eighth, and early part of the ninth century. These modifications were simply the applications of the principles of ecclesiastical government admitted from the earliest ages of the Church, and were such as were required by the changed circumstances of the times. They did not owe their origin to the publication of the *False Decretals*, but rather to recent decretals and canons, and to the writings of ecclesiastics who interpreted the spirit of the age and the needs of the Church. These decretals and canons were antedated, and the opinions of ecclesiastical writers expressed as canons, and thus embodied in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection. That the collection was not the cause of the modifications in ecclesiastical discipline introduced during the eight and ninth centuries, is obvious from the readiness with which it was received throughout the Church, and especially in France and Germany. Though it was not the cause of these modifications, it gave permanency to them when once introduced.

CHAPTER VIII.

PONTIFICATE OF NICHOLAS I.

SINCE the time of Gregory the Great, no Pope deserves so well the attention of the student of history as Nicholas I. He was descended of a noble Roman family; and on the death of Benedict III. (858) he was elected to fill the vacant see. His consecration was attended with special solemnity. Louis II. of Germany came to Rome to be present on the occasion. And this is the first case we meet with in history of a Pope being crowned.[1]

Condition of the Christian world.

At the time of his accession to the Papal throne, the Christian world was in a very distracted condition. In the Eastern Church, Ignatius, the saintly Patriarch of Constantinople, had been deposed, and the proud and haughty Photius appointed in his place; while the Western Church was disturbed by the numerous wars carried on under the successors of Charlemagne. There were everywhere signs of an increasing disposition to confound right with might, to oppress the weak, and to trample on the laws and liberties of the Church. In such circumstances, the Church required as her head a man of irreproachable

[1] "Coronatur denique, urbs exultat, clerus laetatur, senatus et populi plenitudo magnifice gratulabatur." (Anast., Lib. Pontif.). Many think that the ceremony of coronation was introduced by Nicholas I. Pertz, Leges, iii. (1085). According to Constantine's alleged *Deed of Donation*, it was introduced by Sylvester I., who received from the Emperor the right of wearing a golden crown.

character, a sound theologian, and a great churchman. Such was Nicholas I., on whom posterity has bestowed the title of Great.

The policy which he pursued throughout his pontificate of defending the weak against the strong, and the innocent against the guilty, made it necessary for him to engage in a number of disputes, the chief of which were those with Photius, Lothaire II., and Hincmar of Rheims. Of his dispute with Photius we will treat in another place: for the present, we will confine our attention to those in which he engaged with Lothaire and Hincmar.

Dispute with Lothaire II.

His dispute with Lothaire II., son of Lothaire I., King of Lorraine, regarded the dissolubility of the marriage tie. Lothaire had been married (856) to Theutberga, daughter of the Duke of Burgundy, and sister of Hucbert, Abbot of St. Maurice. After a short time he wished to repudiate her, in order to marry Waldrada, sister of Gunther, Archbishop of Cologne, to whom he was passionately attached. For the purpose of securing the desired divorce, he accused her of having committed before her marriage an unnatural crime with her brother Hucbert.[1] She undertook to defend her innocence by the trial of boiling water before an assembly of the bishops and princes of the kingdom (859). Her representative having passed uninjured through the ordeal, the charge alleged against her was declared to be unfounded.

This did not, however, satisfy Lothaire, whose reason had been blinded by passion. He had two Synods held

[1] Hucbert was a cleric in minor orders, and abbot of the monastery of St. Maurice; he afterwards became Count of Burgundy, but still continued to retain the title of abbot, and to draw the revenues of the office.

at Aachen, in 860, before which Theutberga, influenced by threats of different kinds, admitted her guilt; she was condemned to undergo a public penance, and Lothaire forbidden to receive her as his wife.

The Synods of Aachen.

A third Synod was held at Aachen, in 862, to consider the King's application for permission to contract a second marriage. Six of the eight bishops present assented to his application; the chief advocates of the lawfulness of the second marriage being Gunther, Archbishop of Cologne, and Theutgaud, Archbishop of Treves. Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, one of the most learned French ecclesiastics of the ninth century, was consulted in the matter. He stated that he totally disagreed with the bishops of Aachen about the innocence of Theutberga; but that he agreed with them regarding the question of law involved in their decision; because, he said, a woman guilty of incest, was thereby rendered incapable of entering into a valid matrimonial contract.[1] Lothaire, acting on the decision that had been given in his favour, married Waldrada on Christmas Day (862), and had her crowned queen.

Theutberga appeals to Rome.

Theutberga, who had in the meantime fled from Lorraine to the dominions of Charles the Bald, appealed to the Pope against the decision of the Synod of Aachen. She declared her innocence of the crime laid to her charge, and said that her confession of guilt was false, and made simply under threats of violence. Lothaire thought it prudent in the circumstances to secure, if possible, the Pope's approval of his conduct. With this purpose he despatched two ambassadors to Rome. They adduced

[1] *De Divortio Loth. et Teut.*, Opera I., 626.

additional reasons, referred to now for the first time, to prove the nullity of Lothaire's former marriage; viz., that he had been already betrothed to Waldrada, and that he had been forced by the Abbot Hucbert to marry his sister.

Papal Legates bribed at Mentz.

Nicholas ordered a Council to be held at Mentz, to inquire fully into the facts of the case. Besides the Bishops of Lotharingia, the Bishops of France and Germany were invited to attend. The Council opened at the appointed place, in June, 863, two Papal Legates presiding. Lothaire so arranged that none but Lotharingian bishops were present. The Legates [1] were bribed to take the side of the King; and, without instituting the prescribed inquiry, ratified the decision of the Synod of Aachen. Gunther and Theutgaud were sent by the bishops to Rome to inform the Pope of what had been done, and to obtain his approval.

Acts of Synod of Mentz annulled.

When Nicholas learned what had occurred at Mentz, he held a Synod at Rome the same year, which annulled the acts of the Council of Mentz, deposed Gunther and Theutgaud and the two Legates, and threatened the other bishops who had approved of the King's second marriage with the same punishment, unless they gave signs of sincere repentance. Gunther and Theutgaud immediately left Rome, and betook themselves to the camp of the Emperor, Louis II. (855-875), who was then staying at Benevento. They represented to him that their treatment by the Pope was an insult to his brother Lothaire. Louis, who had been deceived by their statements, set out for

[1] One of these was Rodoald, Bishop of Porto, who had been recently sent on a like mission to Constantinople, where he also betrayed the trust reposed in him by the Pope. Nicholas did not know of his treachery till after he had been sent to Lotharingia.

Louis goes to Rome.

Rome to avenge the imaginary insult. He demanded that Nicholas should ratify his brother's marriage with Waldrada; but the Pope steadfastly refused to yield. Owing to the interference of the Empress, and to the sudden death of a soldier, which was generally construed as a divine visitation, Louis withdrew from Rome, and left the deposed bishops to their fate. The other bishops who had approved of Lothaire's second marriage, expressed regret for their conduct, and were reconciled to the Holy See.

Lothaire continued to live with Waldrada up to 866, when Nicholas sent a Legate to Lotharingia to warn the King, under penalty of excommunication, to break off his incestuous connection with her, and to take back his lawful wife. Terrified by the thought of the consequences of excommunication, Lothaire yielded for the time, and

Waldrada excommunicated.

delivered Waldrada into the custody of the Legate to be brought to Rome, for the purpose of having suitable penance imposed on her. On her way thither she was seized and carried back to the King, upon which sentence of excommunication was pronounced against her. Theutberga, who had been restored to all her rights on the departure of Waldrada, was subjected to such harsh treatment, that she was soon anxious to leave a court where no peace was to be her portion. She wrote a letter to the Pope, declaring that her marriage with Lothaire had never been valid, and asking for permission to enter a convent. Nicholas replied (867) by censuring her for having consented to make a confession of guilt under the influence of fear. Being unable to bear up any longer against the petty annoyances to which she was constantly subjected, she fled again to the kingdom of Charles the Bald, where she was when Nicholas died, in 867.

The dispute was settled during the pontificate of Hadrian II. (867-872). Waldrada was released from the sentence of excommunication, at the request of Lothaire, on condition that she should cease to live with him. The King was invited to Rome by Hadrian. "Rome," the Pope wrote,[1] "is never unjust, and is always willing to receive the penitent. If you are conscious of innocence, come for a blessing; if guilty, come for the remedy of a suitable penance." In compliance with this invitation, he went to Rome, in 869, and had an interview with the Pope in the abbey of Monte Cassino. He promised to break off all criminal connection with Waldrada; and both himself and his followers attended at Mass celebrated by the Pope, and received Holy Communion as a sign of their sincere reconciliation with the Church. Hadrian delivered a solemn address to Lothaire before admitting him to Holy Communion. "If," said he,[2] "thou hast observed the charge of Nicholas, and art firmly resolved never to have intercourse with Waldrada, draw near, and receive unto salvation; but if thy conscience accuse thee, or if thou purpose to return to wallow in thine uncleanness, refrain, lest that which is ordained as a remedy for the faithful should turn to thy damage." On their return from Rome, Lothaire and most of his attendants were attacked by fever, and died. This was generally looked on as a punishment from heaven for their duplicity, and their unworthy reception of the blessed Eucharist. Both Theutberga and Waldrada embraced the religious state, and spent the remainder of their days in penance and prayer.

The dispute settled.

Death of Lothaire II., &c

[1] Regino, *Annal.*, Ad an. 868; Rob., iii. 381.

[2] Hincmar, *Annal.*, Ad an. 899; Rob. iii. 382.

Twofold dispute with Hincmar.

Nicholas engaged in a twofold dispute with Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, the history of which will give a good idea of the relations then existing between metropolitans and their suffragans, and of the power claimed and exercised by the Holy See. One regarded the deposition of a priest, named Wulfad, and other clerics of Rheims: and the other, the deposition of Rothad, Bishop of Soissons.

Hincmar.

In order to understand the nature of the first of these disputes, and the causes that led to it, it will be necessary to notice briefly the previous history of Hincmar. He was born in 806, and belonged to a noble family in Neustria. At an early age, he entered the monastery of St. Denys, near Paris, where he remained till 845, when he was appointed Archbishop of Rheims. The last occupant of this see was Ebbo, who had sided with the sons of Louis the Mild in their rebellion against their father, in 833. On the restoration of the latter to the throne, in 835, Ebbo was forced to resign his see, and to enter a monastery. After the death of Louis, in 840, he was restored by Lothaire to his see, which still remained vacant. But a war breaking out, two years later, between Lothaire and Charles the Bald, Ebbo fled from Rheims to his patron, from whom he received the bishopric of Hilda, which he continued to govern till his death, 851.

Suspension of Wulfad, &c.

One of the first things that Hincmar did, after his appointment to Rheims, was to suspend Wulfad and other clerics that had been ordained by Ebbo after his restoration, in 840, on the ground that their ordination had been irregular. He was the more willing to adopt this course, as he feared lest the recognition of their canonical standing might raise suspicions about his own title to a see from which another, who was still living, had been ejected.

Appeal of the deposed clerics.

The deposed clerics appealed to a provincial Synod of Soissons, in 853. Among the reasons adduced by them to show that their ordinations had been canonical, it was urged, that Ebbo was Archbishop of Rheims when they were ordained, because *no one but the Pope could depose a bishop.*[1] The Synod, however, sustained the action of the Archbishop. They then appealed to Pope Leo IV. (847-855). He arranged for the holding of a second Synod, to which he promised to send a legate to inquire into the justice of their case. But before the Synod could be held, Leo died, and was succeeded by Benedict III. (855-858).

The new Pope confirmed the decision of the Synod of Soissons; but only on condition that the case had been accurately stated by Hincmar. When Nicholas became Pope, the question was again referred to the Holy See. At first, he confirmed the suspension of the clerics; but only conditionally, as his predecessor had done. He learned, however, shortly afterwards, that the facts of the case had been misrepresented by Hincmar, and that the clerics had been uncanonically deposed; he forthwith ordered Hincmar, either to restore them to their former offices, or to hold a second Synod to examine the matter more fully. The latter alternative was accepted; and a Synod was held at Soissons, in 866, which decreed the restoration of the clerics, *not as a right*, but as an *act of grace*. This decision was approved by Nicholas; and thus the dispute terminated.

Their restoration.

The other dispute between Nicholas and Hincmar

[1] This would appear to be an allusion to one of the disciplinary canons in the Pseudo-Isidorian collection; from which it is inferred by some that the collection was forged before 853.

Suspension of Rothad.

regarded the deposition of Rothad, Bishop of Soissons. The relations between Hincmar and his suffragan had been very strained for some time; and the former was but waiting for an opportunity to make the latter feel the weight of his authority. The desired opportunity at length arrived. Rothad, with the consent of thirty-three bishops, deposed one of his priests who had been caught in the open violation of the law of celibacy, without any reference to the metropolitan. The deposed priest appealed to Hincmar; the latter declared the priest's deposition irregular, and ordered that he should be restored to his former office. Nor did this satisfy the vindictive Archbishop. He, moreover, declared (861) Rothad suspended, on various charges, the chief being that he had dared to hold a Synod of bishops without the permission of the metropolitan. Against this sentence, Rothad immediately appealed to Rome.

He appeals to Rome.

In the year 862, a Synod was held at Pistres, to which Rothad came, as if he had never been suspended. Being refused admission to the deliberations of the bishops, he renewed his appeal to the Holy See. On his return to his diocese, he wrote a letter to a bishop who he thought was present at Pistres, asking him and others to defend his cause, if it were brought before the Synod. This letter fell into the hands of Hincmar, who construed it as a withdrawal of his appeal to Rome. It was then decided to hold another Synod for the special purpose of examining Rothad's case. The proposed Synod was held at Soissons, towards the close of the same year. Rothad was cited to appear before the Synod; and, on his refusing to obey the citation, he was declared deposed, and condemned to spend the remainder of his life in a monastery. Nicholas I., to

Synods of Pistres and Soissons.

whom the acts of the Synod were sent for confirmation, declared them null, because Rothad was deposed notwithstanding his appeal to the Holy See. He ordered that the deposed bishop should be restored to his see, or that representatives should be sent to Rome to defend the course adopted by the Synod.

Rothad, having obtained the necessary permission from Charles the Bald, set out for Rome, in 864. After a stay here of six months, as no one appeared against him, he was declared innocent by Nicholas, and restored to his see. In giving his decision, on the vigil of Christmas (864), the Pope delivered an important allocution, [1] in which he laid down the following principles by which he was guided: (*a*) The authority of the Holy See is the great source of security for the Church, and for the bishops in the discharge of their duties. (*b*) Appeals to the Holy See cannot be prevented by the laws of the State; nor can cases of appeal be again tried by inferior tribunals. (*c*) Bishops cannot be deposed without the consent of the Pope, as their deposition is one of the *causae majores.* [2] Nicholas sent Rothad back to France with letters to Hincmar and Charles the Bald. The former was threatened with deposition, if he opposed the restoration of the deposed bishop. Hincmar yielded, and Rothad continued in peaceful possession of his diocese till his death.

Decision of the Holy See.

The policy of Nicholas in defending the weak against

[1] Labbe, viii. 789.

[2] Quamquam etsi Rothadius nunquam provocasset, nunquam omnino praeter scientiam nostram deponi debuerit, quia *sacra statuta* et *veneranda decreta* episcoporum causas, utpote *majora negotia*, nostrae definiendas censurae mandarunt: Labbe, viii. 789. From these words, it is inferred by many writers that Nicholas was acquainted with the Pseudo-Isidorian collection of canons. *Vide* Jungmann, *Dissert.*, iii. 298.

John of Ravenna.

the strong, receives an additional illustration from his treatment of John, Archbishop of Ravenna. The latter oppressed the people of his own and the neighbouring diocese, and exacted from them large sums of money. They appealed to the Pope. He excommunicated the Archbishop, and compelled him to desist from his course of wickedness.

The letters of Nicholas I.

He wrote a large number of letters on various subjects, only a few of which have come down to us. But in those that are preserved there is ample evidence of his profound knowledge of Theology and Canon Law. The most important of his letters is that written to Bogoris, King of the Bulgarians. The latter, who had been recently converted to Christianity, being dissatisfied with the missionaries sent from Constantinople to convert his subjects, wrote to Nicholas, asking him to send missionaries from Rome, and proposing various questions regarding faith and ecclesiastical discipline, on which he wished to be informed. Nicholas replied by sending two bishops, with an epistle, in which the questions proposed were answered under a hundred and six heads.[1] In this letter, frequently referred to in Church history, he shows an intimate knowledge of Theology, and of the principles on which Church government should be based.

[1] *Responsa ad Consulta Bulgarorum*, Harduin, v. 353.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PHOTIAN SCHISM.

THE Photian schism was the rupture of ecclesiastical communion which occurred between the Latin and Greek Churches during the ninth century. It was not, as we have seen,[1] the first rupture of the kind that occurred between the Churches; neither was it destined to be the last. The immediate cause of it was Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople; but other causes had prepared the way for the schism which he consummated. These we shall briefly describe.

Causes of the schism.

(*a*) One of the chief causes was the ambition of many bishops of Constantinople, who were unceasing in their efforts to increase their ecclesiastical privileges in proportion to the increased political importance of their city. Some of their claims were sanctioned by General Councils; thus the Councils of Constantinople (381) and Chalcedon (451) declared that they ranked next to the Bishops of Rome in authority and honour. The Popes, however, persistently refused, till the establishment of the Latin kingdom of Constantinople, to acknowledge any such right. And we have seen that some of them were carried so far by their arrogance as to assume the title of *œcumenical*. The constant opposition of the Holy See to their pretensions strained the relations between the two Churches, for

(*a*) Ambition of the Bishops of Constantinople.

[1] *v. g.*, the Acacian schism (484-519).

the Greeks looked on the bishops of Constantinople as the representatives and defenders of their ecclesiastical rights and privileges, and bore it ill, that, while their city held civil sway over most of the civilized world, it should be in ecclesiastical matters alone subject to foreign rule.

(*b*) Many of them heterodox.

(*b*) Many of the bishops of Constantinople took the side of heresy against orthodoxy. Such was the case during the Nestorian, Acacian, Monothelite, and Iconoclastic controversies. This was another cause of conflict between themselves and the Popes, who were always the champions of truth.

(*c*) Latins and Greeks differed in language, &c.

(*c*) There was a marked difference between the Latins and the Greeks in moral character, literary tastes, love of enjoyment, and language. During the first three centuries of the Christian era very many of the Italians could speak Greek, while after the fourth century the Greeks could generally speak Latin, as it was the language of the law courts. After the reign of Justinian, however, the Greeks began to neglect the study of Latin; and Gregory the Great says, that in his time there was scarcely one to be found in Constantinople who could translate an ordinary sentence of Greek into Latin.

(*d*) They differed in discipline and doctrine.

(*d*) There were also numerous points of difference between them in ecclesiastical discipline, liturgy, and even in belief. The Greeks admitted, the Latins condemned, the marriage of priests and deacons; the former did not fast on Saturday, the latter did; the former admitted, the latter rejected, confirmation administered by priests; the former admitted eighty-four, the latter only fifty, Apostolic Canons; the former condemned, the latter defended, the addition of the *Filioque* to the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Creed.

It was the last-mentioned point that gave rise to the

most heated controversies between the two Churches. The word *Filioque* appears to have been first added to the Creed in Spain, about the end of the fourth century, for the purpose of expressing more clearly the doctrine of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, defined by the Council of Constantinople (381). Thus we find in the confession of faith drawn up at the Council of Toledo (400) against the Priscillianists;[1] and the third Council of Toledo (589) ordered that the Niceno-Constantinopolitan Symbol, with the addition of the *Filioque*, should be sung during Mass. The addition was sanctioned by the Council of Frankfort, in 794, and afterwards by the Council of Aix-la-Chapelle, in 809. The fathers of Aix-la-Chapelle wrote to Leo III. (795-816) asking him to approve the addition. The Pope while accepting the doctrine, refused to add the *Filioque* to the Creed, on the ground that it had not been added by the Nicene or Constantinopolitan fathers. It was, however, added in Rome soon after his death; and was received throughout the Western Church about the middle of the ninth century.

Filioque.

Its addition to the Creed.

The Greeks charged the Latins with violating the prohibition of the fathers of Constantinople against any addition to the Creed. To this the Latins replied that the Council of Constantinople forbade only such additions as would contain new doctrines, or doctrines at variance with

[1] They were a sect of Manichaeans that made their appearance in Spain about the middle of the fourth century, and took their name from Priscillian, their chief leader. After being condemned in various Councils, the latter appealed to the Emperor Maximus, who appointed a secular court to try him. He was declared guilty, and himself and his six companions were beheaded (385) at Treves, notwithstanding St. Martin's entreaties in their behalf. This is the first instance we find recorded of Christians being condemned to death for heresy.

Catholic faith, but not such as would serve to place in a clearer light doctrines already defined. It is obvious that the prohibition of the fathers of Constantinople must be understood with certain restrictions; for they themselves made an addition to the Nicene Creed, and they could not have undertaken to limit an equally competent authority, in making whatever subsequent additions the circumstances of the Church might require.

The doctrine expressed by it.

The Latins were, moreover, charged with heterodoxy because of the doctrine expressed by the *Filioque*. It was argued that in teaching the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father *and the Son* (*Filioque*), they taught the existence of two first principles, and were, therefore, guilty of Manichaeism. To this the Latins replied that they taught the procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son, not as from two, but as from one principle; and that, therefore, the charge of Manichaeism was without foundation. The Greeks held that the Holy Ghost proceeded from the Father *through the Son*, which when rightly understood, is the same doctrine as that expressed by the Latin *Filioque*.

The coronation of Charlemagne.

(*c*) Lastly, the coronation of Charlemagne as Emperor of the West, in 800, and the consequent union between the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire of the German nation tended to widen still further the breach between the East and the West.

Such were the principal causes that prepared the way for an open rupture between the two Churches. The Greeks looked on the Latins with feelings of jealousy and suspicion, which length of time served only to intensify. The opportunity was the only thing required, in order that their feelings should find expression in open schism. That

opportunity soon presented itself in the appointment of Photius to the see of Constantinople.

Ignatius, Patriarch of Constantinople.

On the death of Methodius, Patriarch of Constantinople, in 842, Ignatius was elected by the clergy and people to fill the vacant see. He was of royal descent, being the son of Michael I., Emperor of the East (811-813). On the deposition of the latter, in 813, his son Ignatius—his original name was Nicetas—was forced to enter a monastery, where he laid up those stores of piety and learning, of which he gave ample evidence in his after life. His appointment to the see of Constantinople was opposed by a faction headed by Gregory,[1] Bishop of Syracuse. Gregory was not allowed to take part in the consecration of the newly-appointed Patriarch, as an inquiry had been instituted into certain charges against him by the late patriarch, which had not yet terminated. This served to intensify the opposition of Gregory's partisans to Ignatius.

Gregory of Syracuse.

A Synod was held at Constantinople, in 850, which declared Gregory and his followers guilty of various charges, and himself deposed from his see. Against this decision Gregory appealed to the Holy See. Benedict III. held a Synod at Rome, in 856, which, while not confirming the sentence of his deposition, declared him suspended until a further inquiry could be made into the charges against him. Regardless, however, of his suspension, he continued to exercise his episcopal functions, showing thereby his contempt for all ecclesiastical authority.

Ignatius experienced still more formidable opposition

[1] Gregory was the son of Leo V., who deposed the father of Ignatius; and thus the relations between the parents did not predispose to friendship between the children.

The Court of Constantinople.

from the Court of Constantinople. As we have already seen, Theodora, on the death of her husband Theophilus, in 840, took the reins of government into her own hands, during the minority of her son Michael III. At the age of eighteen, Michael, acting on the advice of Bardas, his maternal uncle, compelled his mother to yield up to him the imperial authority. Bardas was raised to the dignity of Caesar, and thus became the chief adviser of the Emperor. The more effectually to retain, if not increase, his power, the newly-appointed Caesar instilled into the mind of the youthful Emperor those lessons of immorality and contempt for religion of which his own life afforded such a striking example. The mysteries of religion were travestied in the Imperial Court, and the most sacred rites represented by courtiers and buffoons. Bardas himself contracted an incestuous connection with his daughter-in-law. And, lastly, the Emperor, acting on the advice of his Caesar, determined to compel his mother and sister to enter a convent.

Against such conduct Ignatius felt bound to raise his voice in protest. With a firmness worthy of his exalted office, he reproved the excesses of the Emperor and his Caesar, and was specially stern in his treatment of the latter, to whom he publicly refused Holy Communion on the feast of the Epiphany. Bardas resolved to have his revenge, and lost no opportunity of prejudicing the Emperor's mind against Ignatius. The desired opportunity soon presented itself. The Patriarch refused to officiate at the religious profession of Theodora and her daughter, on the ground that they were not free. He was forthwith accused by Bardas of being implicated in a conspiracy against the Emperor, in favour of an ambitious aspirant to the imperial

Deposition of Ignatius.

throne, named Gebon,[1] who claimed to be the son of Theodora by a former marriage. Though no evidence could be adduced in proof of the charge, he was declared guilty, deposed, and banished to the Island of Mitylene.

Photius appointed to the see of Constantinople.

Photius, who was a layman at the time, and secretary to the Emperor, was appointed to the vacant see. He was of noble origin, being nearly related to the imperial family, and of high literary attainments;[2] but he was also a man of irritable temper and boundless ambition. His chief recommendation in the eyes of his patrons for the dignity to which he was raised, was that he belonged to the Gregorian faction, and was therefore opposed to Ignatius. He received the various orders on six consecutive days, without observing the canonical interstices, and was consecrated bishop on Christmas Day, 857, by Gregory of Syracuse.

Ignatius refuses to resign.

Various efforts were made to induce Ignatius to resign his see; he "was exposed to cold and nakedness, was scourged, chained in a gloomy dungeon, and deprived of the consolation which he might receive from the visits of his friends; while many of his partisans were beaten, imprisoned, and mutilated, with the usual Byzantine cruelty."[3] But he refused to yield, either to the entreaties or torture of his enemies. Such treatment aroused the activity of his followers. A Synod was held at Constantinople, in 859, which declared Photius deposed and excommunicated. Another Synod, however, held there the same year, acting

[1] Jungmann, iii. 339.

[2] He wrote many works, the chief of which was the *Myriobiblon* or *Bibliotheca*, containing critical notices of two hundred and eighty books in classical and ecclesiastical literature, many of which have perished. See Migne's *Greek Patrol.*, vol. ci.

[3] Rob., iii. 423.

in obedience to the Emperor, reversed the decision of the last, and declared Photius the legitimate Patriarch. Photius deemed it prudent, because of the number of followers who still adhered to Ignatius, to endeavour to gain over Rome to his side. With this intention he wrote a letter to Nicholas, who was then Pope, asking to have his appointment to Constantinople confirmed; and added, that the dignity to which he had been raised was not of his own seeking, but that it had been forced on him against his will. He requested that legates should be sent to preside at a Council to be held at Constantinople, for the twofold purpose of restoring ecclesiastical discipline, and of suppressing the Iconoclastic heresy, which was again beginning to make headway in the East. Another letter of a similar kind was forwarded by the Emperor, accompanied with many valuable gifts for the Pope.

Nicholas asked to confirm the appointment of Photius.

Council of Constantinople (861).

Nicholas sent two legates to Constantinople, viz., Rodoald of Porto, and Zachary of Anagni, who presided at a Council of three hundred and eighteen bishops, in 861. Yielding to the influence of threats and bribery, the legates pronounced sentence of deposition against Ignatius and declared Photius the rightful Patriarch of Constantinople. Ignatius was brought before the Council, and compelled, by the use of physical force to sign a confession declaring that he had obtained the see uncanonically, and had administered it tyrannically. He was then robed in pontifical vestments, but only to be immediately divested of them, as a sign of his canonical deposition. Against the judgment of the Council Ignatius appealed to Rome.

Its acts annulled.

When Nicholas learned what had been done, and how his legates had proved false to the trust reposed in them, he annulled the acts of the Council of Constantinople;

declared Photius an usurper, and Ignatius the lawful bishop; and, finally, deposed and excommunicated his legates. Photius resolved to have his revenge. He took occasion from the recent action of the Pope in sending missionaries to Bulgaria, to attack both himself and the whole Latin Church.

The Bulgarians were a people of Asiatic origin, who had settled down in the province of Illyria, along the Danube, during the latter half of the seventh century. They were constantly engaged in hostilities with the Byzantine Empire; and, in this way, first became acquainted with Christianity. It does not, however, appear to have made any headway among them till the conversion of their chief, Bogoris, about 864. It is said that he received his first knowledge of the Christian religion from his sister, who had been taken prisoner by the Byzantine troops, and had embraced the faith during her stay at Constantinople. An event occurred in 863, which determined him to embrace the religion of his sister. A severe famine visited Bulgaria; the King appealed to the pagan deities for assistance, but in vain; he then prayed to the God of the Christians, and on his prayer being heard, he made up his mind to abandon paganism. He requested the Emperor of Constantinople to send a missionary to instruct him in the faith. The Emperor selected a monk named Methodius, who was favourably known for his skill as a painter. Shortly after the arrival of the latter in Bulgaria, he was asked by Bogoris to paint some striking scene on the walls of a large hall in the palace. The monk selected as the subject of his painting, the General Judgment. The picture had such an effect on those who saw it, that Bogoris and many of his

The Bulgarians a source of fresh difficulty.

Methodius.

subjects openly professed themselves Christians. Bogoris was baptized, about 864, by a bishop sent by Photius for the purpose, and took the name of Michael, in memory of the Emperor, who acted as his god-father. He received, at the same time, a letter from Photius explaining various points of ecclesiastical discipline and belief. Shortly afterwards (866), however, Bogoris growing dissatisfied with the Eastern missionaries, sent ambassadors to Nicholas I., asking him to send missionaries to complete the conversion of his subjects. With this request, as we have already seen, the Pope complied.

Photius wrote a circular letter to the bishops of the East, inviting them to attend a Council which he intended to hold at Constantinople. In this letter he severely censured Nicholas for having sent Latin missionaries to Bulgaria, and for having usurped jurisdiction over that country. He, moreover, charged the Latins with being in error on various points of discipline and belief. Photius claimed that Bulgaria should belong to the Patriarch of Constantinople, as the faith was first preached there by priests from the East. Nicholas, on the other hand, claimed it for the patriarchate of the West, on two grounds—first, because the conversion of the country was completed and the Church organized by Latin missionaries; and, secondly, because Bulgaria was situated in Illyria, which had always formed part of the Roman patriarchate, until Leo the Isaurian forcibly and uncanonically annexed it to the East.

Various charges brought against the Latins by Photius.

The proposed Council met at Constantinople in 867, the Emperor presiding. The number of bishops present is not known with any certainty. Anastasius says[1] that there were only twenty-one present, but that the signatures of

The Pseudo-Ecumenical Council.

[1] *In Praef. ad Conc.*, viii., Labbe, viii. 965.

nearly one thousand bishops were forged, in order that there should be some show of reason for the title of ecumenical claimed for the conventicle by the partisans of Photius. Various charges were brought against Nicholas; he was declared guilty, and the sentence of deposition and excommunication was pronounced against him.

The arrogance of the pseudo-patriarch, which had reached its height, was soon destined to meet with a sudden check. The Emperor was murdered in September, 867, and was succeeded by Basil, who had been already raised to the dignity of Caesar, by the murder of Bardas. Photius experienced in Basil, as Caesar, a kind patron; his experience of him as Emperor was of a different kind. Influenced by political considerations, Basil deposed Photius, and restored Ignatius to his see. This act of justice was intended to conciliate his subjects, many of whom were inclined to view with suspicion his claim to the throne. He resolved to hold a General Council, to put an end to the troubles arising out of the Photian schism, and wrote to Hadrian II. (867-872), the successor of Nicholas, to obtain his approval. The Pope granted the required approval, and promised to send legates to preside at the Council. He held a Synod at Rome, in 868, which condemned the acts of the Council held by Photius, in 867, together with the writings of the latter against the Holy See. The Papal Legates brought with them to Constantinople a profession of faith which the bishops were required to accept before being allowed to take part in the Council. No one was to be admitted who did not accept the Primacy[1] of the Roman See, and the acts of

Photius deposed.

[1] Labbe, viii. 988. The Greek text extant makes no mention of the Primacy.

the Roman Synods held under Nicholas and Hadrian, in which Photius, Gregory of Syracuse, and their followers were condemned.

Eighth Ecumenical Council.

The Council opened in the Church of St. Sophia, in Constantinople, on the 5th of October, 869. There were very few bishops present at the opening of the Council; but before its close the number reached one hundred and two. Three Papal Legates—two bishops and a deacon—presided; the patriarchates of the East were well represented. The fathers passed twenty-seven canons on questions of faith and ecclesiastical discipline; the twenty-first recognised five patriarchates, that of Constantinople ranking next to Rome in authority and dignity. A definition of faith was drawn up, condemning the various heresies that had hitherto made their appearance: the condemnation of Photius and his adherents was approved, and Ignatius was declared the lawful Patriarch of Constantinople. In the tenth and last Session, the decrees were signed by all the fathers present, as well as by the Emperor, and the representatives of Louis II., Emperor of the West.

The question of the Bulgarians.

Shortly after the termination of the Council, a private conference was held between the legates, the Emperor, the representatives of the eastern patriarchs, and the ambassadors of the Bulgarian chief, to settle the question of the patriarchate to which Bulgaria should belong. For some reason,[1] not known, the Bulgarians had recently changed their minds, and wished to be annexed to the patriarchate of Constantinople. The Papal Legates

[1] A reason frequently assigned is that Nicholas refused to accede to the wish of Bogoris to have Formosus Archbishop of the Bulgarians, though the Pope was prepared to sanction the appointment of any other suitable person.

protested against the competency of the tribunal to settle the question in dispute, and then withdrew from Constantinople. The others present were, as we should expect, in favour of Constantinople. Ignatius did not take an active part on one side or the other; but, guided by the opinion of his colleagues at the conference, he claimed metropolitan rights over Bulgaria. The Latin ecclesiastics in the country were ordered by Bogoris to depart. Both Hadrian II. and his successor, John VIII., protested against the conduct of the Bulgarian chief and the Patriarch of Constantinople, and even threatened the latter with excommunication if he persevered in claiming jurisdiction over Bulgaria. This threat, however, was never carried into effect, though Ignatius persistently refused to relinquish his claims till his death in 877.

The restoration of Photius.

Photius was restored to the vacant see by Basil, whose good graces he had regained by tracing his genealogy to an ancient line of royal ancestors. John VIII., who was Pope at the time, was asked to confirm the appointment. The Pope agreed, as he declared, for the peace of the Church, on the following conditions, viz., that he would publicly express, before a Council convened for the purpose, his regret for the evil he had done; that he would cease to claim jurisdiction over the Bulgarians; that no layman should be henceforth appointed bishop; and that those ordained by Ignatius should be allowed to retain their positions. A Council was held at Constantinople, in 879, at which three hundred and eighty bishops were present. The appointment of Photius was approved; but he refused to comply with the prescribed conditions. When the Pope heard of what had been done, he sent a legate to Constantinople to protest against his instructions not being

carried out; but, on his arrival, the legate was thrown into prison. John VIII., on learning the indignity that had been put on his representative, excommunicated Photius and all who advocated his cause, or defended the acts of the late Council.

His deposition by Leo VI.

Photius continued to hold his see, and to foment feelings of hatred against Rome in the minds of the Greeks, till 886, when Leo VI., the son of Basil, on becoming Emperor, compelled the schismatical patriarch to resign and withdraw to a monastery, where he died a few years later (891). The vacant see was bestowed on Stephen, a brother of the Emperor. The Pope was asked to confirm the appointment; but while the question was being discussed at Rome, Stephen died (893). He was succeeded by Anthony II., whose appointment was approved by Formosus (891-896). Thus ended, for the time, the schism between the Eastern and Western Churches.

The schism healed.

It was revived in the eleventh century by Michael Cerularius, Patriarch of Constantinople (1043-1059.) The immediate cause of its revival was a circular letter addressed by Cerularius and Leo, the Metropolitan of Bulgaria, to the Bishop of Trani, in Apulia, in which all the charges brought against the Latin Church during the Photian schism were renewed. New charges were also added, such as that the Latins sanctioned fourth marriages, and used unleavened bread in the Sacrifice of the Mass. The letter fell into the hands of Cardinal Humbert, by whom it was translated into Latin, and forwarded to Leo IX. (1049-1054). The Pope replied to the circular in a letter addressed to Cerularius, a copy of which was forwarded to the Emperor. It produced a favourable impression on the mind of the latter, who asked that legates

Revival of schism by Michael Cerularius.

should be sent to Constantinople to settle the points in dispute between the two Churches. In compliance with the request of the Emperor, the Pope sent three legates to the East, who were instructed to protest against the title of *ecumenical* patriarch, usurped by Cerularius; and to demand that the Eastern priests who celebrated Mass according to the Latin rite should be restored to the offices from which they had been recently deposed by order of the Patriarch. The legates were kindly received by the Emperor, Constantine IX.; but Cerularius obstinately refused to meet them, as he said they had come to Constantinople *to teach*, and not *to be taught*. Finding that all their efforts to arrive at an amicable understanding with Cerularius were fruitless, they entered the Church of St. Sophia, and placed on the altar the sentence of his excommunication and deposition. They immediately returned to Rome, where their action was approved by the Pope. Cerularius left no means untried on his part to prejudice the Greeks against the Latins. He held a Synod at Constantinople, in 1054, which decreed that the Pope's name should be erased from the public liturgy of the Church. The schism which was thus revived between the Latin and Greek Churches has continued down to our own day, notwithstanding the numerous efforts made by different Councils to heal it; nor is there any sign to indicate that the term of the schism is approaching.

His excommunication.

CHAPTER X.

CONTROVERSIES REGARDING THE BLESSED EUCHARIST.

DURING this epoch, there were two controversies regarding the Blessed Eucharist, which must be carefully distinguished from each other. One regarded the mode of Christ's sacramental Presence; the other, the Real Presence itself.

A.—*The Controversy regarding the Mode of Christ's Sacramental Presence.*

The treatise of Paschasius Radbert on the Eucharist.

This controversy was originated by the publication, in 831, of a treatise *On the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of the Lord*, written by Paschasius Radbert, a monk[1] of Corbie. It was the first regular and comprehensive work of the kind of which we have an account. As it was written for students, the writer endeavoured to place in a clear light the principal points of Catholic teaching on the Eucharist. He insisted strongly on the following :—(*a*) the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ ; (*b*) the absence of the substance of bread and wine after consecration ; and (*c*) the identity of Christ's Sacramental Body with that which was born of the Blessed Virgin, and suffered on the Cross.

His teaching attacked by Ratramn.

His teaching on the last-mentioned point appeared strange and untenable to some of his contemporaries.

[1] He became abbot of the monastery, in 844.

Ratramn,[1] a monk of his own monastery, Raban Maur, Archbishop of Mentz, and Ratherius, Bishop of Verona, undertook to refute him. While accepting his doctrine on the Real Presence, and the absence of the substance of bread and wine, they maintained that the sacramental was different from the con-natural mode of Christ's existence. They understood Paschasius to teach that Christ was present in the Eucharist as He had been on earth, and as He is in Heaven; and that, consequently, His Sacramental Body could be seen, not merely with the eyes of faith, but with the eyes of the body, and touched immediately with our hands. There is nothing in his writings to show that he taught any such doctrine; but that it was ascribed to him by some of his contemporaries, is clear from the following words used by an anonymous opponent, supposed to be Ratherius of Verona: "You will easily perceive," writes the latter, "that the Body of Christ, which is daily consecrated by the Holy Spirit from the

[1] The Calvinists of the sixteenth century, and many Protestants of more recent times, have maintained that Ratramn, or Bertram, as the early Reformers loved to call him, rejected the doctrine of the Real Presence. It must be admitted that there is considerable ambiguity in some of his statements about the Eucharist. At the same time the whole tenor of his work, *De Corpore et Sanguine Domini*, leaves no doubt that he taught the doctrine of the Real Presence. Thus, he speaks of the "bread, which is made the Body of Christ by the ministry of the priest:" of "that, which is to *all appearance* (*exterius*) bread, being *in reality* (*interius*) the Body and Blood of Christ;" and "one and the same thing being *in appearance* bread and wine, and *in reality* the Body and Blood of Christ" (Migne's *Lat. Patrol.*, vol. cxx.). That he was not a Sacramentarian, as some Protestants would have him, is further evident from the absence of any charge of the kind brought against him by his contemporaries; nor did Berengarius, in the eleventh century, appeal to him in support of his teaching. Even the Magdeburg Centuriators were forced to admit that he taught the doctrine of the Real Presence, and that his writings contained the "seeds of Transubstantiation, because he used the words *change* (*commutatio*) and *conversion* (*conversio*)." (Bill., ix. 59.)

substance of bread and wine for the life of the world, differs as to *the mode of existence (specialiter)* from the Body born of the Blessed Virgin, into which it is transformed, though the two are *substantially* (*naturaliter*) the same."

Scotus Erigena.

Scotus Erigena, who had already taken part in the controversy on Predestination, now entered the list against Paschasius Radbert. He is said [1] to have written (861) a work on the Eucharist, in which he gave expression to some opinions at variance with Catholic teaching. It was condemned [2] by the Councils of Vercelli (1050) and Rome (1059), the latter of which ordered it to be committed to the flames.

If he wrote this work, which many deny,[3] it has perished, so that we cannot know how far precisely he was guilty of the errors attributed to him. According to some, Scotus so explained the Eucharist as to leave it, as the Sacramentarians would have it, a mere sign. Others, however, maintain that he believed in the Real Presence, but rejected Transubstantiation. The chief arguments in favour of the latter opinion are—(*a*) that those whose side he took in the controversy held the doctrine of the Real Presence; and (*b*) there is no contemporary evidence to show that he rejected the doctrine of the Real Presence.[4]

Said to have been a Sacramentarian.

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[1] Alzog., ii. 314; Neander, vi. 217, &c.

[2] According to many, the work condemned by these Councils was written by Ratramn. See Dr. Healy, *Ireland's Ancient Schools and Scholars*, 583; and Giesler, ii. 123.

[3] Dr. Healy says: "There is no contemporary evidence to show that Scotus wrote a treatise on the Eucharist; and, on the other hand, there is positive evidence that goes to show the identity of the work attributed to Scotus with the treatise that has been certainly written by Ratramnus." *Loco citato.*

[4] Hincmar says, in his work *On Predestination* (i. 232), that some taught "quod sacramenta altaris non verum corpus et verus sanguis sint Domini,

Another ecclesiastic of this time, Amalarius, a priest of Metz, taught the revolting doctrine of *Stercoranism*, viz., that the Body and Blood of Christ in the Blessed Eucharist are subject to the same laws of change and decay as human food.

B.—*The Controversy regarding the Real Presence.*

The Real Presence denied by Berengarius.

The first Christian who can be said with any certainty to have denied the doctrine of the Real Presence was Berengarius. He was born at Tours, in 998, and studied under Fulbert of Chartres. The latter declared[1] on his death-bed that his pupil would yet become a dangerous man. Berengarius was an eloquent speaker, a skilful dialectician, and well read in the writings of the fathers. In 1031, he became teacher of the school of St. Martin, in his native city; and, in 1041, was appointed Archdeacon of Angers. About four years later he began to propound his heretical opinions[2] about the Blessed Eucharist. He rejected the Real Presence; but taught that the bread and wine received from the words of consecration a sanctifying efficacy. So startling did this doctrine, which he professed to borrow from the writings of Scotus Erigena, appear to

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sed tantum memoria veri corporis et veri sanguinus" (Migne's *Lat. Patrol.*, cxxv. 295). It is not certain that Hincmar refers to Scotus Erigena; but, even if he does, it would not follow that Scotus was a Sacramentarian; for he taught that Christ's body was changed after the resurrection into "a reasonable soul:" hence the Sacrament of the altar would not contain the *verum corpus* and *verus sanguis*, as understood by his adversaries. An imperfect commentary on the Gospel of St. John, written by Scotus, was published in 1849; but it throws no new light on his teaching, as it ends with that part of the 6th chapter where our Lord begins to speak of the institution of the Eucharist.

[1] William of Malmesbury, 465.

[2] He had previously attacked the doctrines of the indissolubility of marriage and the baptism of infants. Doll., *Ch. Hist.*, ii. 74.

his contemporaries, that two former fellow-students of his wrote to him to say that it was commonly reported throughout Europe that he had broken with the unity of the Church.

Writes to Lanfranc in defence of Scotus Erigena.

Having heard, in the year 1049, that Lanfranc, who was at the time scholasticus of the monastic school of Bec, had written a refutation of the doctrines of Scotus Erigena, he forwarded to him a letter defending Scotus, and setting forth his own views on the Eucharist. He ended his letter by inviting Lanfranc to a conference, in which the points in dispute would be discussed. Before the letter reached Bec, Lanfranc had set out for Rome; it was, however, sent thither after him. Having read it, he immediately brought it under the notice of Leo IX. (1049-1054): he did this the more readily as there were not wanting some to cast suspicion on his own orthodoxy, because of his having received a communication from Berengarius.

Condemned at Rome and Vercelli.

Two Synods[1] were held in 1050, one at Rome, and the other at Vercelli, in both of which the teaching of Berengarius on the Eucharist was condemned. Lanfranc also wrote a refutation of his errors.

His work on the Lord's Supper.

Some writers have maintained that Berengarius denied Transubstantiation, but not the Real Presence. But since the publication of his work, *On the Lord's Supper*, by Lessing, in 1770, there can be no longer any doubt that he rejected the latter doctrine as well as the former. He adheres, as closely as the nature of his errors would permit, to Catholic terminology, for the purpose of deceiving

[1] Berengarius was not present at either of these Synods. His condemnation in his absence is strongly animadverted on by some Protestant writers. But it may be fairly asked: Did not his writings supply sufficient evidence of his erroneous teaching?

Christians ; at the same time he is, on some occasions, sufficiently outspoken to allow no mistake about his teaching. Thus, in speaking of the change of the bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, he says that the change is one of *efficacy*, and not of *substance*.[1]

Other Councils were held to condemn his errors, the chief of which were the Council of Tours (1055), and three held at Rome in 1059, 1078, and 1079. He was present at the Council of Tours, which was presided over by Hildebrand as Papal Legate ; and defended his opinions as best he could. He was condemned as heterodox, and was required to make a confession confirmed by oath, that the bread and wine are changed by the words of consecration into the Body and Blood of Christ. Immediately after his departure from Tours, he relapsed into his old errors, and declared that he did not believe a single word of the confession of faith, in the sense in which it was understood by the assembled fathers. When the deceitful artifice of Berengarius became known, he was cited to Rome to answer for his conduct. He appeared before a Council of one hundred and thirteen bishops, held there in 1059, signed a confession of faith, formulated by Cardinal Humbert, which was still more explicit than the last, and committed his writings on the Blessed Eucharist to the flames. He had scarcely departed from Rome when, true to his dishonest character, he began to teach his original heresy. When Hildebrand became Pope he summoned Berengarius to appear again at Rome.

Condemned by other Councils.

[1] *De Coena Dom.*, 145 ; "*Mutationi* in placatum irati similis est *mutatio* panis in Corpus Christi, quia inefficax est panis natura ante consecrationem ad vitam aeternam, post consecrationem *efficax*. Et quod dicitur panis altaris Corpus Christi *eo locutionis dicitur genere quo dicitur : Christus est summus lapis angularis*."

He presented himself before two Councils held there in 1078 and 1079, at the latter of which he subscribed to a confession of faith declaring that he had been in error regarding the Eucharist; and that the bread and wine were *substantially* changed into the Body and Blood of Christ.

He dies at peace with the Church.

Again, on his departure from Rome, he began to teach his original errors. But at length, finding that his end was near, he retired to the island of St. Cosmas, near Tours, where he spent the last days of his life in penance, and died at peace with the Church, in the year 1088.

CHAPTER XI.

THE PAPACY, FROM A.D. 888 TO A.D. 1046.

Enslavement of the Papacy.

THE period between 888 and 1046 is the darkest in the history of the Papacy. It was a period of enslavement, when the Church had little or no freedom in the selection of her rulers, but was forced to accept the nominees of the different factions that happened for the time to hold sway in Rome. The natural result of such a state of things was, that some of the Popes thus appointed were unworthy of their exalted office; and that the others who were personally good were prevented from exercising the beneficent influence which they would over the Church. We shall briefly examine the causes that led to the enslavement of the Papacy, and the consequences of its enslavement.

Causes of its enslavement.

During the latter half of the ninth century, the power of the successors of Charlemagne was on the wane, and passed by degrees into the hands of the nobles. This was due, partly to the numerous wars in which the former engaged with one another, and partly to the military system, then prevalent, by which the nobles had practical control of the army. And in no country of Europe were the nobles so formidable as in Italy, where, owing to the absence of the Emperors, they had become practically independent. On the deposition of Charles the Fat (887), the last of the Carlovingians who ruled over the whole of Charlemagne's Empire in Italy, France, and Germany, many of the Italian

Increase of the power of the nobles.

states threw off the nominal allegiance to the Emperors which they had hitherto admitted. This was followed by a rivalry between different factions, each claiming for its chief the titles of King of Italy and Emperor. [1]

Wars between aspirants to the Imperial Crown.

The two most prominent aspirants to royalty were Guido, Duke of Spoleto, and Berengarius, Duke of Friuli. The former having defeated the latter in two battles, was crowned Emperor by Stephen V., in 891. His son, Lambert was crowned the following year, and associated with his father in the government of Italy. On the death of Guido, in 894, civil war broke out again between new rivals for the Imperial Crown. Arnulph, King of Germany, was invited by Formosus (891-896) to come to Italy, and put an end to the civil wars that distracted the country. In compliance with the Pope's invitation, he crossed the Alps at the head of a large army, and was crowned Emperor, in 896. The action of Formosus excited against him the most bitter opposition of the Nationalist factions, who, while differing among themselves about the fitting person to receive the Imperial Crown, agreed to exclude a stranger. There were many, however, who hailed Arnulph's advent and coronation with delight, as they were weary of the struggles carried on among the petty princes of Italy. The death of Arnulph, in 899, gave rise to fresh wars for the vacant crown. Berengarius of Friuli succeeded in defeating his rivals, and was crowned Emperor, in 915. But, while possessing the name, he wanted the power to make his authority respected throughout Italy.

[1] No one was eligible for the position of Emperor who was not King of Italy.

While Italy was thus distracted by civil wars, Rome fell successively into the hands of a number of factions. The Nationalists ruled there from 896 to 904; the Tuscan faction, from 904 to 964; the German, from 964 to 973; the Crescentian,[1] from 973 to 996; the German, from 996 to 1003; the Crescentian, from 1003 to 1012; and the Tusculan,[2] from 1012 to 1046.

Different factions rule at Rome.

Each faction, as it happened to hold sway in Rome, filled the Chair of St. Peter with its own creatures, party favouritism taking the place of canonical election. Those who were thus intruded into the see of Rome were not lawful Popes by *appointment*; but they became such by the tacit recognition of the Catholic world. And they were mostly selected, not because of their fitness for the exalted office to which they were raised, but because of kindred, subserviency, or some other unworthy motive.

Chair of St. Peter filled with the creatures of faction.

Such being the condition of the Papacy, we must naturally be prepared to find that some of the Popes were unworthy of their position, especially when we remember that the factions that successively ruled in Rome, with, perhaps, the exception of the German, were remarkable only for their wickedness and contempt of religion.

Thus the immoral Theodora, and her no less infamous daughters, Marozia and Theodora the Younger, were the ruling spirits of the Tuscan faction for over forty years

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[1] So called from Crescentius, their leader, who was descended from Theodora, the ruling spirit of the Tuscan faction. After establishing his authority in Rome, he retired to a monastery, where he ended his days, in 984. He was succeeded in the leadership of his party by another of the same name, who was put to death by order of Otho III., in 998, for having headed a rebellion against Gregory V., whom he forced to fly from Rome.

[2] The counts of Tusculum, the leaders of the party, were also descended from Theodora.

Character of the Roman factions.

(904-946), during which time they filled the Chair of St. Peter with the nominees of their choice. And what is true of these wicked women, in their relation to the Papacy, is equally true of the leaders of the Crescentian and Tusculan factions.

The Popes of this period.

Notwithstanding the deplorable condition of the Holy See during this period, the number of bad Popes was far less than we should naturally expect, there being only three of whose unworthiness there can be no doubt. These were, Stephen VI., John XII., and Benedict IX.

Stephen VI.

Stephen VI. (896-897) was a creature of the Nationalist faction; and so far did he go in the interest of his party, that he held a Council in 897, to pass judgment on Formosus (891-896) who had crowned Arnulph. The body of the deceased Pope, which had been buried for nine months, was exhumed and clothed in pontifical robes; the sentence of deposition was then pronounced against him; all marks of authority removed; two fingers of his right hand cut off; and, finally, his body was cast into the Tiber. Sentence of deposition was also pronounced against those who had received orders from him. The principal charge alleged against him, as far as can be gathered from contemporary writers—the acts of the Council are not extant—was his translation [1] from the see of Porto to Rome, which was declared to be at variance with the discipline of the Western Church, though Marinus I. (882-884) had been transferred a few years previously from Velletri to Rome. The body of Formosus was discovered shortly afterwards by fishermen, and buried in consecrated ground. The deposed ecclesiastics were restored to their offices by

His treatment of the dead body of Formosus.

[1] The translation of a bishop from one see to another was forbidden by the Council of Nice, c. 15.

John IX. (898-900); and the bishops who had taken part in the Roman Council, held in 897, were pardoned on their expressing regret for their conduct.

John XII. (956-964) was the son of Alberic II., one of the leaders of the Tuscan faction, and the grandson of Marozia. On the death of Agapetus II., he was appointed to fill the vacant see, though he was then only about eighteen years of age. His original name was Octavian; and he was the first who changed his name on becoming Pope. During the eight years of his pontificate he appears to have led a wicked and immoral life. He invited Otho I. (936-973), usually styled the Great, to Rome, to put an end to the factious disturbances by which the city was distracted. Otho accepted the invitation, and crossed the Alps, in 962. He soon reduced the turbulent factions to submission, and received the Imperial Crown[1] from the Pope, in the year 963. He confirmed all the grants made to the Holy See by Pepin and Charlemagne, and caused some of the territories wrested from it to be restored. Complaints were made to him regarding the morals of the Pope, to which he simply replied, that John was still young,[2] and that he would improve with time.

John XII.

Invites Otho to Rome.

As soon as Otho left Rome, John XII. entered into an alliance with the Emperor's enemies in Italy, for the purpose of destroying foreign authority in that country. When the Emperor heard of what the Pope had done he returned immediately to Rome; but John had withdrawn from the city before his arrival. The Emperor convened a Council, at which there were present forty Italian and German

[1] He had been already crowned King of Italy, in 951.

[2] "Puer est, facile bonorum immutabitur exemplo virorum," Liutprand, *De Reb. Gest. Ott. Magni.*

His deposition.

bishops, and sixteen cardinals. John was declared guilty of various crimes and deposed. An anti-pope was appointed in the person of Leo VIII.,[1] who had been formerly chancellor of the Roman Church. On the departure of the Emperor from Rome, the anti-pope was forced to withdraw, and John XII. recalled; but scarcely had the latter returned, when he was taken suddenly ill of a fit of apoplexy, and died on the 14th of May, 964.

Benedict IX.

The third of the bad Popes of this period was Benedict IX. (1033-1045). At the time of his appointment, he was about the same age[2] as John XII., and was his equal in vice and immorality. He belonged to the Tusculan faction, and owed his appointment to bribery and threats. His wickedness was carried to such excess, that the Romans, being unable to tolerate him any longer, forced him to fly the city, and set up (1044) a rival Pope in the person of John, Bishop of Sabina, who took the name of Sylvester III. After a brief reign of three months, Sylvester, who, according to some, belonged to the party of the Crescentians,[3] was forced to withdraw from Rome, and Benedict returned. The latter still continued in the unrestrained indulgence of his passions; but he was at length induced to resign by John, Archpriest of Rome, who bestowed on him a large sum of money, which he had amassed for the purpose of doing something noteworthy for the good of the Church. John was elected in his place, and took the name of Gregory VI. Benedict, however, soon grew weary of retirement, and, supported by his

Sylvester III. an anti-Pope.

Resignation of Benedict and election of Gregory VI.

[1] At the time of his appointment he was most probably a layman.

[2] Some say he was only twelve years of age. Rudolphus Glaber speaks (iv. c. 5) of him as a "puer annorum circiter duodecim."

[3] Jungmann, *Dissert.*, vol. iv. 205.

powerful relatives, renewed his claims to the Papacy. There were now three claimants for the allegiance of the Catholic world.

Synod of Sutri.

Henry III., Emperor of Germany (1039-1056), was chiefly instrumental in restoring peace to the Church. At the request of many well-disposed Christians he went to Italy in 1046, and had a Synod convened the same year at Sutri. Sylvester III. was condemned as an anti-pope, and ordered to retire to a monastery. Benedict's[1] disgraceful life and his resignation were sufficient to have his claims set aside. And Gregory VI. having declared that he owed his elevation to the Papacy to the free expenditure of money,[2] forthwith resigned. Accompanied by his disciple Hildebrand, he withdrew to Germany, where he spent the remainder of his life. Suidger, Bishop of Bamberg, was appointed to the vacant see, and took the name of Clement II. (1046-1047). Thus was the schism terminated, and with it the enslavement of the Papacy. Henceforth the Church will exercise the right of selecting her rulers, except in some few cases, in which the

[1] Benedict withdrew to the monastery of Crypta, near Frascati, in 1048. Here he entered on penance for the scandals of his past life which he continued till his death, in 1065.

[2] It is disputed whether Gregory was guilty of simony. The more probable opinion appears to be that he was not. He expended a large amount of money to secure the resignation of Benedict, whose life was a source of scandal to the Church; and he was himself afterwards freely elected, as we are assured by Otho, Bishop of Freising (*Chronicon*, vi., c. 32). There is no evidence to show that he brought about the resignation of Benedict with a view to his own promotion: on the contrary, the terms of praise in which he is spoken of by Bonizo and Desiderius, two contemporary writers, forbid such a supposition. Moreover, it is not at all likely, that, had he been guilty of simony, Hildebrand, who was the most determined enemy of that vice, would have afterwards assumed the name of Gregory VII., out of respect of his memory.

appointments shall be made by the emperors and accepted by the Church.

Sergius III.

Serious charges have been made against two other Popes of this period on the authority of Liutprand, Bishop[1] of Cremona, viz., Sergius III. (904-911), and John X. (914-928).

The former was related to Theodora, then beginning to hold sway in Rome, and was consecrated to the ecclesiastical state at an early age. He was one of those excommunicated, in 898, for having taken part in the outrages put on the dead body of Formosus, and was obliged to fly from Rome. After seven years spent in exile, he was recalled in 904 to fill the Papal Chair, rendered vacant by the deposition of the usurper Christopher.[2]

[1] He was born in the North of Italy, of Lombard parents, about 922, and was educated at Pavia in the school attached to the court of Hugo, King of Italy. While here he was ordained deacon. On the deposition (944) of Hugo by his successful rival Berengarius, Liutprand entered the service of the latter; but shortly afterwards falling into disfavour with Berengarius, he fled to Otho I., by whom he was kindly received (955). He accompanied the latter to Italy in 962, and was appointed to the bishopric of Cremona, which he retained till his death, in 972. He was favourably known for his literary attainments, and possessed a good knowledge of Greek and Latin. He was, however a man "with a strong disposition to satire, with furious hatreds and violent partialities which he did not affect to conceal" (Rob., iv. 18, note); and showed little or no regard for accuracy of statement in his writings. His chief work is the *Antapodosis* (Requital), *or History of the Acts of the Emperors and Kings of Europe from* 888 *to* 948, in six books. It derives its title from the purpose which the writer says he had in view in compiling it, viz., to describe the virtues of his friends, and thus reward them; and the evil doings of his enemies, especially Berengarius and his Italian followers, and thereby punish them. It is the work not of a historian, but of an avowed partisan, written in favour of the Germans and against the Italians. Such is the character of the writer who is the sole authority for most of the calumnies against the Popes of this period.

[2] Christopher secured the deposition of the lawful Pope, Leo V. (903). According to Flodoard, Leo had died before the appointment of Sergius.

There appears to be no doubt that, as in the case of most of the Popes of this period, he owed his elevation to the influence of faction, though he is represented both by Flodoard [1] and his Epitaph as returning from exile at the urgent entreaties of the Romans, who were anxious to have him as their ruler.

Charges alleged against him by Liutprand.

Sergius is described by Liutprand as a wicked and immoral man, who lived in open concubinage with Marozia,

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[1] Flodoard was a native of Rheims, where he was born in the year 894. He became a priest and canon of the cathedral in his native city, and afterwards—the date is uncertain—a Benedictine monk, and abbot of the Benedictine monastery at Rheims. He was an accomplished scholar, and of unblemished character. He went to Rome, in 936, on a mission connected with his order, and was kindly received by Leo VII. (936-939). He remained in Rome for some time, after which he returned to Rheims, where he died in 966. Among the works which he wrote is his metrical Lives of the Roman Pontiffs, from St. Peter to Leo VII. In this work he praises some of the Popes censured by Liutprand, especially Sergius III. and John X. Speaking of the former, he says:—

"Sergius inde redit, dudum qui lectus ad arcem
Culminis, exilio tulerat rapiente repulsam;
Quo profugus latult septem volventibus annis.
Hinc populi remeans precibus, sacratur honore
Pridem adsignato, quo nomine tertius exit
Antistes: Petri eximia quo sede recepto
Praesule, gaudet ovans annis septem amplius orbis.
Ipse fovens cleri censurae in culmine rapto
Falce ferit pervasores . . ."

He says of John X.:—

"Surgit abhinc decimus scandens sacra jura Joannes,
Rexerat ille Ravennatum moderamine plebem.
Inde petitus ad hanc Romanam percolit arcem,
Bis septem qua praenituit paulo amplius annis.
Pontifici hic nostro legat segmenta Seulfo,
Munificisque sacram decorans ornatibus aulam,
Pace nitet: dum Patricia deceptus iniqua,
Carcere conjicitur claustrisque arctatur opacis.
Spiritus at saevis retineri non valet antris,
Emicat imo aethra, decreta sedilia scandens."

the daughter of Theodora. Such a description is irreconcilable with the silence of all other contemporary writers, and with the flattering terms in which he is spoken of by Flodoard, John the Deacon, and the writer of his Epitaph. "This Pope," says Flodoard, "already proposed for the Sovereign Pontificate, at the time of the election of John IX., was recalled amidst the unanimous acclamation of the people, and received the consecration long since destined for him. For the seven years of the Pontiff's reign was a season of grateful joy to his subjects throughout the world." And John the Deacon says: "After his consecration Pope Sergius III. was much grieved at the dilapidated condition of the Basilica of St. John Lateran, which had fallen to ruins during the Pontificate of Stephen VI. . . . He had recourse to the Divine Goodness, in which he always placed his trust." And his Epitaph represents "the good Pastor as returning from exile at the earnest prayers of the people, showing equal love to all classes, and meeting all usurpers with Apostolic energy."

Vulgarius and Auxilius.

Moreover, as we shall afterwards see, Sergius required that those who had received orders from Formosus should be re-ordained. Two contemporary writers named Vulgarius and Auxilius wrote against Sergius in defence of the validity of the orders conferred by Formosus. And so far are they from making any insinuation against his moral character, that the former speaks of him in the most flattering terms. As an illustration of the general accuracy of Liutprand, we may mention that he makes Sergius the immediate successor of Formosus, with the exception of the short reign (fifteen days) of Boniface VI. (896).

On the death of Lando, the second successor of Sergius,

in 914, John, Archbishop of Ravenna, was appointed, through the influence of the Tuscan faction, to fill the vacant see. He had been a deacon of the Church of Bologna, and was afterwards appointed by Sergius Bishop of that see. Before his consecration, however, he was elected to the see of Ravenna, which had just become vacant. After ruling this diocese for nine years, he was raised to the Chair of St. Peter, and took the name of John X. He "showed himself an energetic, if not a saintly Pope. He crowned Berengarius as Emperor—probably with a view to breaking the power of the nobles; he applied both to him and to the Greek Emperor for aid against the Saracens; at the head of his own troops, with some furnished by Berengarius, he marched against their camp on the Garigliano, and by the aid of St. Peter and St. Paul (as it is said), he obtained a victory which forced them to abandon that post of annoyance and terror to Rome. But his spirit was probably too independent for the party which he was intended to serve, and they resolved to get rid of him. In 928, some adherents of Guido, Duke of Tuscany, the second husband of Marozia, surprised the Pope in the Castle of St. Angelo; his brother Peter, who was particularly obnoxious to the party, was murdered before his eyes, and John himself was either starved or suffocated with him in the fortress."[1] John X.

According to Liutprand,[2] John was guilty of criminal intercourse with Theodora, who it is said, secured his appointment at first to the bishopric of Bologna, and afterwards to the see of St. Peter, in order that she might enjoy his constant company in Rome. This charge, which Charges of Liutprand.

[1] Rob., iv. 19.

[2] *Antapod.*, ii. 48.

is not supported in any way by other contemporary writers is totally at variance with the character ascribed to him by Flodoard, and the Panegyrist of Berengarius. According to the former, "his prudent and virtuous life won for him a throne in heaven:" and the latter says that he was "renowned as well for his wisdom as for his exalted dignity." John was related to Theodora, and was elevated to the Papacy through her influence. These two facts would be sufficient of themselves to give currency to the reports against his character, contained in the *Antapodosis*.

The epitaph recently discovered in Rome.

An epitaph on the tomb of a Roman monk named Cresentius, who died in 984, declares that he was the son of illustrious parents named John and Theodora. From which Baronius[1] inferred that Pope John was the person referred to, and concluded that the epitaph was a proof of the allegations made by Liutprand against his character. Fortunately for the cause of truth, another epitaph has been recently discovered[2] by the learned archæologist Re Rossi, which shows that the assumption of Baronius was without foundation. The newly-discovered epitaph is in memory of Landolph, who died in 963, "in the flower of youth." He is said to have been the son of a Roman Consul named John and Theodora. Probability is obviously in favour of the two epitaphs referring to the same John, viz., the Consul.

The other Popes of this period.

Against the other Popes of this period no charge of a serious kind can be substantiated. They appear to have been personally good. Most of them, however, were prevented by their state of enslavement from promoting,

[1] Ad. an. 996.

[2] See Jungmann, *Dissert.*, iv. 59.

as they were anxious to do, the interests of the Church. For they were not only themselves the creatures of faction, but the cardinals and their other advisers were generally actuated by the spirit of partisans. Still some of them laboured zealously for the restoration of ecclesiastical discipline. Among these Gregory V. (996-999) and Sylvester II. (999-1003) deserve special mention.

Gregory V. and Sylvester II.

The former was the first German Pope, and owed his elevation to his cousin, Otho III. (996-1002), Emperor of Germany. The latter, who also owed his elevation to the same person, was the first Frenchman who filled the Chair of St. Peter. He was born of humble parents in Aquitaine, and embraced the religious state at an early age. He went to Cordova to study natural philosophy, for which the Moorish schools of Spain were then famous. So complete a mastery did he acquire of the natural sciences that he was accused by some of being a magician. He occupied in rapid succession the position of Master of the Cathedral School of Rheims, Abbot of Bobbio, Preceptor of Otho III., Archbishop of Rheims, and Archbishop of Ravenna. During his Pontificate he laboured energetically for the reformation of morals, and was the first Pope who conceived the idea of rescuing the Holy Land from the Saracens. It was he who bestowed on King Stephen of Hungary and his successors the title of *Apostolic Majesty*, together with the right of having the cross borne before them.

Anti-Catholic writers on the Popes of this period.

Anti-Catholic writers dwell with a kind of malignant pleasure on the character of the unworthy Popes of this period—and, according to them, there were many such—as if they supplied an unanswerable argument against the Divine institution of the Church of which they were the

recognised heads. Catholics, on the other hand see nothing in their lives incompatible with their faith. They are bound to believe that the Popes are infallible in their *ex-cathedra* definitions of faith; and it cannot be shown that any of them ever erred in such definitions. They do not, however, claim for them the gift of impeccability; though Catholic teaching on this point is sometimes misrepresented through ignorance or malice for the purpose of attack. On the contrary, they freely admit that the Popes are men subject to all the passions of human nature; and, moreover, that some of them have yielded to these passions, and thus rendered themselves unworthy of their exalted position.

General character of the Popes.

In fairness, however, to the Papacy, we should not consider the bad Popes by themselves, but in connection with the line of august rulers to which they belong. The character of the Papacy does not depend on a few exceptional cases, but on the Popes viewed collectively, from St. Peter to Leo XIII. In that line there have been over two hundred and fifty Popes. Of these only four or five led lives that were notoriously bad; while the rest, as far as history tells us, were men of solid learning and piety, of whom seventy-nine are on the calendar of the saints. If we compare this long line of Popes with any other line of rulers that the world has ever seen, or even with the College of the Apostles, trained by Christ Himself, how favourable is not the comparison for the Papacy.

We may fairly use in its favour the same style of argument which St. Augustine used against the infidels of his time to prove the divinity of the Christian religion. Either the Popes, taken as a body, were noted men for their learning and piety, and worthy of their position:

or, as some anti-Catholic writers would have us believe they were the slaves of ambition and those other vices that degrade human nature. In the first hypothesis, their character would be an evidence of a special Providence of God guarding the interests of the Chair of St. Peter. In the latter, a stronger argument still would be supplied of the Divine institution of the Papacy. For the history of kingdoms and empires proves to demonstration that if the rulers continue for any considerable length of time to show themselves unworthy of their position, that line of rulers must soon cease. How, then, are we to explain the continuance of the Papacy for nineteen centuries, notwithstanding the alleged number of unworthy Popes, "not a mere antique, but full of life and youthful vigour"?

CHAPTER XII.

PAPAL ELECTIONS.

The Popes at first elected by clergy and laity of Rome.

THE mode of electing Popes has varied at different times in the history of the Church. In the early ages they were elected by the clergy and laity of Rome. When a candidate was nominated by their joint suffrages, the clergy had the right of approving or setting aside the selection; hence the canonical appointment of Popes was at all times practically vested in the hands of the latter. It sometimes happened, however, after the time of Justinian I., down to the breaking out of the Iconoclastic controversies, that the Eastern Emperors interfered with the freedom of Papal elections through their exarchs at Ravenna, and had their own favourites intruded into the Chair of St. Peter. After the establishment of the Holy Roman Empire the Western Emperors secured the appointment of many of their favourites. And, as we have already seen, there was little or no freedom in Papal elections between 888 and 1046.

Leo VIII. said to have granted to Otho I. the right of appointing Popes.

It is said that Leo VIII., who was set up as a rival to John XII. by Otho the Great, granted to the latter and his successors, the German Emperors, the right of appointing to the See of Rome. Whatever may be said of the authenticity[1] of Leo's grant, it is certain that the German Emperors, after this time, took a prominent part in the

[1] *Vide* Baronius, Ad an. 964; and Jungmann, iv. 147.

appointment of Popes. They frequently nominated a candidate, and secured his election by the Roman clergy and people.

Constitution of Eugene II. and Lothaire.

The interference of the laity in Papal elections frequently gave rise to factious disturbances in Rome. Various efforts were made to prevent those abuses. Thus Eugene II. (824-827), and Lothaire, who was joined with his father, Louis I., in the government of the empire, published a Constitution [1] by which the Romans were required to swear that they would recognise no one as Pope who had not been canonically elected, and taken an oath of fealty to the Emperor in presence of his ambassadors. The disgraceful scenes [2] that accompanied the election of Eugene II. were the immediate cause of this constitution.

The electoral power confined to the cardinals.

This, as well as other measures of a like kind, were found to be ineffectual in preventing popular disturbances on the occasion of Papal elections. At length, Nicholas II. (1058-1061) resolved to take the electoral power out of the hands of the laity. What occurred at his own election afforded an additional illustration of the abuse of that power; for an anti-Pope had been set up by the junior clergy and laity, in the person of Benedict X. He held a Council of one hundred and thirteen bishops at Rome, in the year 1059, which decreed [3]—(*a*) that the right of electing Popes should be confined to the cardinals; (*b*) that the junior clergy and laity should have merely the right of

[1] Hist. Longobardorum (Continuator of Paul the Deacon), Ad an. 825. The authenticity of the Constitution is denied by some, as it is not referred to by any other contemporary writer.

[2] There were two candidates for the Papacy—one the nominee of the clergy and nobility; the other, of the populace of Rome. The former was consecrated after much opposition from the popular faction.

[3] Bonizo, Bk. vi., Apud Watterich, i. 210.

approving the choice of the cardinals ; (*c*) that if a suitable person could be found among the Roman clergy, he was to be elected ; otherwise a foreigner might be chosen ; and (*d*) that the approval [1] of the Emperor was to be sought, if he had *personally* obtained the privilege of sanctioning Papal elections.[2] Henceforth the cardinals enjoyed the exclusive right of electing Popes ; though, as we have seen, they had virtually possessed that right already.

The three grades in the Sacred College of Cardinals represented the three classes that previously took part in the election of Popes, the cardinal bishops and cardinal priests, representing the episcopate and senior clergy of Rome ; and the cardinal deacons, the junior clergy and laity, as they presided over the principal ecclesiastical divisions of Rome, and thus had a representative character.

The votes of two-thirds of the cardinals required.

The next important change in the law of Papal elections was made by Alexander III. (1159-1181). On the death of Hadrian IV., in 1159, there was considerable difficulty about the appointment of a successor. Cardinal Octavian, who was in the imperial interest, though having received only three votes, claimed the Papal throne, and took the name of Victor IV. Shortly afterwards, Cardinal Orlando received the majority of the votes of the Sacred College, and became Pope, under the name of Alexander III. To prevent a repetition of a like occurrence in the future, he had a decree passed by the Third General Council of Lateran (1179), requiring for a valid election, that the votes of two-thirds of the cardinals should be given for the same person.

[1] It is disputed whether this right implied the power of vetoing the choice of the cardinals.

[2] Some say that another Council was held in 1060, which modified the decree of 1059, by taking from the Emperor the right of approving the choice of the cardinals. If such a Council was held, its acts are lost.

On some occasions there was considerable difficulty in securing the required majority of votes. Thus, the conclave in which Gregory X. (1271-1276) was elected continued for two years and eight months, during which the cardinals obstinately adhered to their respective candidates. To prevent the recurrence of a like delay in the future, Gregory X. drew up a decree [1] which was sanctioned by the second Ecumenical Council of Lyons (1274). By this decree nine days were allowed for the obsequies of a deceased Pope and the arrival of the absent cardinals; on the tenth day, the cardinals were to go into conclave, each accompanied by a domestic, and be shut up in a common apartment, with a small window, through which the necessaries of life were passed. Here they were to remain till some one received the required majority of votes. If the election was not completed within three days, their table supplies were to be reduced by degrees; and, after the eighth day, they were to be allowed only bread, water, and wine. Some of the more rigorous provisions of this decree have been relaxed; but in substance, it still remains in force.

The constitution of Gregory X.

The last important constitution regarding Papal elections was issued by Gregory XV. (1621-1623). According to this constitution, Popes can be elected either by *scrutiny*, *access*, *compromise*, or *inspiration*. In the first, which is the ordinary mode of election, an empty chalice is placed on the altar, and each cardinal deposits in it the name of his candidate. If it be found on examination that no one person has the requisite majority, the papers on which the names are written are burned; and the smoke arising therefrom is a signal to the outer world that no

Four ways of electing a Pope.

[1] Labbe, *Coll. Conc.*, ix. 975; Gibbon, iv. 401.

Pope has yet been elected. This process is repeated twice each day, till the required majority is secured. If a Pope be elected by a transfer of votes from one candidate to another, the election is by *access.* When the parties of the two candidates unite, the election is said to be by *compromise.* Finally, when—as occurred in the appointment of Gregory VII.—a candidate is selected by general acclamation, because of his well-known fitness, before the cardinals go into conclave, the election is by *inspiration.*

CHAPTER XIII.

THE RE-ORDINATION CONTROVERSY.

The validity of the sacraments and the personal merits of the minister.

THE question of how far the validity of the sacraments depends on the personal merits of the minister has given rise to various controversies in the history of the Church. It has been discussed under different aspects at different times, the underlying principle being always the same. Thus, in the time of St. Cyprian, many African bishops maintained that baptism administered by a heretic was not valid; while a century later the Donatists rejected the sacraments administered by a priest in the state of mortal sin. And, lastly, many writers during the tenth century rejected as invalid, orders conferred in violation of the canons of the Church. Against these latter, others maintained the validity of such orders. A heated controversy ensued, known as the *Re-Ordination Controversy*, which continued to agitate the Church for centuries.

The occasion of the re-ordination controversy.

The immediate occasion of the controversy was the deposition by Stephen VI. (896-897) of those who had been ordained by Formosus (891-896), and their subsequent re-ordination by Sergius III. (904-911). Both Stephen VI. and Sergius III.[1] rejected the orders conferred by Formosus,

[1] It is disputed whether the orders of Formosus were rejected as invalid, or simply as irregular. According to Auxilius, they were rejected as invalid; for he says they were subsequently conferred by Sergius, "tanquam si prima in eis non consecratio sed magis execratio fuerit" (*De Re Ordin. Formosi*, 26). See Jungmann's *Diss. in Hist. in Eccl.*, iv. 110-134.

as his translation from the see of Porto to Rome was a violation of the canons of the Church. Auxilius, Vulgarius,[1] and others wrote in defence of their validity, and maintained—(*a*) that Formosus was a lawful Pope; and (*b*) that, even if his translation had been uncanonical, the orders conferred by him would be valid.

Arguments of those who rejected irregular ordination.

The advocates on each side appealed to the traditional practice of the Church. Those who rejected uncanonical ordination as invalid, adduced the following arguments: (*a*) The Council of Constantinople ordered[2] that those ordained by Maximus the Cynic, a usurper of the see of Constantinople, should be deposed. (*b*) The second Council of Saragossa[3] (592) required[4] that Arian priests, on embracing the Catholic faith, should receive again the blessing of the priesthood. (*c*) Nicholas I., in writing to the Emperor of Constantinople about the consecration of Photius by Gregory, the deposed Archbishop of Syracuse, says that the latter "had nothing, therefore he gave nothing"[5] (*d*) On the death of Paul I. (757-767), a layman named Constantine succeeded, through the influence of his brother, Duke Toto, who was then all-powerful at Rome, in usurping the Chair of St. Peter, and compelled Gregory, Bishop of Presente, to confer on him the different orders. He maintained his usurped position for thirteen months, at

[1] He was a French ecclesiastic, who was at the time staying in Italy. He wrote two works in defence of the ordinations of Formosus, viz, *Super Causa et Negotio Formosi*, and *Tractatus de Ordinationibus Formosi*.

[2] Can. 4.

[3] The ancient Caesarea Augusta.

[4] Can. i. Accepta denuo benedictione presbyterii; Labbe, v. 1600.

[5] Gregorius ergo qui canonice ac synodice depositus et anathematizatus erat quemadmodum posset quemquam provehere vel benedicere ratio nulla docet. Igitur nihil Photius a Gregorio percepit, nisi quantum Gregorius habuit; *nihil autem habuit, nihil dedit.*

the end of which time the Romans, with the aid of Desiderius, King of the Lombards, liberated themselves from the yoke of Toto, cast Constantine into prison, and elected a legitimate Pope in the person of Stephen III. (768-772). Stephen held a Council, at which many bishops attended, both from Italy and France.[1] It decreed that all the pontifical acts of Constantine were null; that those who had received orders from him should return to their original position; and that all sacramental rites administered by him should be repeated, with the exception of baptism. (*e*) Hincmar deposed those who had been ordained by Ebbo, after the restoration of the latter to the see of Rheims, and treated them as if they had not received any orders. (*f*) They, moreover, quoted in support of their views extracts from the writings of Greek and Latin theologians, and appealed with special confidence to the opinion of Theodore the Studite, who, in writing against the Iconoclasts of his time, appeared to teach that their orders were invalid.

Arguments in favour of the validity of irregular ordination.

On the other hand, various arguments were adduced by Auxilius and Vulgarius to show that the prevailing opinion and practice in the Church were in favour of the validity of orders conferred in violation of the canons. (*a*) We learn from many writers of the fourth century, that orders conferred by the Arian bishops were recognised as valid. But if ordination by a heretical minister, which is clearly irregular, be valid, it is obvious that ordination by an orthodox bishop in violation of the canons should be also valid. (*b*) The Council of Nice, while rejecting[2] the

[1] The acts of the Council have not come down to us. We must rely on the account of it given in the *Liber Pontificalis, vita Stephani*, iii.

[2] Can. 19.

orders of the Paulianists, because of the invalidity of their form of baptism, allowed[1] the Novatianists to exercise the orders to which they had been raised before their conversion. (*c*) The Donatist clergy were not required to receive orders on their reconciliation with the Church. And St. Augustine, in writing against these heretics, only reflected the Catholic teaching of his time when he laid down that the validity of the sacraments was independent of the faith and sanctity of the minister. (*d*) Tarasius, Patriarch of Constantinople, defended the validity of the orders conferred by Iconoclast bishops, and appealed[2] in favour of his opinion to the teaching of the fathers and of the Councils, especially that of Nice. (*e*) And Nicholas I. taught the same doctrine, both in his letter[3] to Hincmar regarding the deposition of Wulfad, and in his Instructions to the Bulgarians.[4]

Difficulties against the validity of irregular ordination.

From these arguments it is sufficiently manifest that the prevailing opinion in the Church was always in favour of the validity of orders conferred merely in violation of the canons. How, then, it will be asked, are we to answer the arguments against their validity, and reconcile the action of some Popes, in re-ordaining priests, with their Infallibility ?

To answer these questions, Morinus[5] distinguishes two kinds of ceremonies in ordinations ; viz., those of Divine, and those of ecclesiastical institution. The Church, he

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[1] c. 8.

[2] *Acta Conc. Ecum.* viiᵐⁱ, Labbe, vii. 66.

[3] Labbe, viii. 850.

[4] Mali bona ministrando se tantummodo laedunt : et cerea faex accensa sibi quidem detrimentum praestat, aliis vero lumen in tenebris administrat.

[5] *De Sacris Ordinationibus.*

says, has no power over the former, but has over the latter; the former must be always present, the latter are required only so far as they are prescribed as *essential* by the Church. Hence, according to Morinus, the Church can limit the power of conferring orders by prescribing the observance of certain ecclesiastical ceremonies as *essential.*

Morinus distinguishes between *essential* and *prescriptive* ecclesiastical ceremonies.

From this it would follow that orders which would be valid at one time would be invalid at another, though conferred with the same ceremonies, if different ceremonies were prescribed as *essential* on the two occasions. And Morinus holds that this is true, not only of different periods in the history of the Church, but also of different parts of the Church at the same time.

This opinion, while affording a ready explanation of the difficulties presented by the apparent discrepancy of usage regarding the validity of unlawful ordinations, is devoid of any foundation, either in Scripture or in tradition; and is, moreover, totally at variance with the generally received opinion of Catholic divines, according to which the valid exercise of the power of orders is independent of any conditions prescribed by the Church. Without conceding then to the Church the power of interfering with the validity of the sacramental acts, when the matter and form are present, the difficulties proposed are capable of a ready explanation, on principles more in accordance with Catholic theology.

The difficulties answered on other principles.

First.—Those who were ordained in violation of the canons of the Church, were very rarely allowed to exercise the orders thus received. These orders were, therefore, sometimes spoken of in a loose sense as invalid, as they were so for all practical purposes.

Secondly.—Before the time of the scholastics, the distinction between orders, jurisdiction, and the sanctifying grace usually infused into the soul with the reception of orders, was not always sufficiently attended to. Ordination was sometimes spoken of as invalid in the second and third senses, while it was valid in the first. Hence, we can understand the saying of St. Jerome, that "not all bishops are bishops;" and the statement of Nicholas I., that Gregory of Syracuse "had nothing, therefore he could bestow nothing" on Photius; *i.e.*, he had no jurisdiction, and consequently could not give it to another. That Nicholas I. should be understood in this sense, is clear, not only from his letters to Hincmar and the Bulgarians, already referred to, but also from the fact, that when Photius was afterwards recognised as Bishop of Constantinople by the Holy See, he was not required to receive orders again.

Thirdly.—When ecclesiastics who had been unlawfully ordained were afterwards reconciled to the Church, they were sometimes allowed to minister in the offices which they had previously filled. In such cases, an ecclesiastical ceremony of restoration was prescribed, which was sometimes called re-ordination. It is difficult in most cases, and in some impossible, to determine whether the re-ordinations mentioned in history were sacramental, or merely ceremonial rites. If the re-ordinations ordered by Stephen III. and Sergius III. were sacramental, we can still easily reconcile the conduct of these Popes with the doctrine of Papal Infallibility. There is no difficulty in the case of Stephen III., as there was a reasonable doubt about the consecration of the usurper, Constantine, who compelled a bishop to confer on him the different orders.

As regards Sergius III., it is sufficient to say, that in his time it was disputed whether orders conferred in violation of the canons were valid. Hence, Sergius, without undertaking to define the question in dispute, could have adopted in practice the rule prescribed for the administration of necessary sacraments when there is a doubt about their validity.

The controversy continued till the Scholastics brought it to a close by putting an end to the confusion of terms in which it had its origin. During the eleventh and twelfth centuries it chiefly regarded the validity of simoniacal ordinations.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE SECULAR CLERGY DURING THIS EPOCH.

The clergy during the eighth and ninth centuries.

THE wars which were of such frequent occurrence throughout Europe at the beginning of this epoch, had a baneful effect on the condition of piety and learning among the clergy of the West; while the Iconoclastic controversies were attended with consequences equally disastrous in the East. As we have already seen, Charlemagne brought about a revival of religion and learning in his dominions by the foundation of schools and the useful legislation that he had passed by various Councils held during his reign. But this revival was destined to be of brief duration. For the numerous wars that broke out under his successors, and the enslavement of the Church by her connection with the feudal system, had the most injurious effects on the general interests of religion and education.

During the tenth and eleventh centuries.

These effects were specially apparent during the tenth and first half of the eleventh centuries—the darkest period of the Middle Ages—when the clergy were, as a body, mostly uneducated, and many of them were slaves to their passions.

Their ignorance.

Ratherius, Bishop of Verona († 974) says[1] that many of his priests did not know the Apostles' Creed. Alfred the Great declared[2] that very few of the English clergy

[1] *Itinerarium* (D. Achery, *Spicileg.*), i. 381.

[2] Brenan, 188. Mabillon, *Annal.* Ben. Ad an. 940

of his time could translate the simplest Latin passage into English; and the Council of Trosly (909) complained that many Christians had grown old without learning the Lord's Prayer or the Apostles' Creed. It must, however, be borne in mind that the ignorance of the clergy was not owing to the want of qualified teachers and great centres of education: but to other causes to which we shall presently refer. The names of the monastic schools of Monte Cassino, Fulda, Bobbio, Turin, St. Gall, Reichenau, Clugny, Corbie, &c., are familiar to every student of medieval history.

Their immorality

The prevailing vices among the clergy of this age were immorality and simony. Many of them lived in open concubinage; and, after a short time, some went so far as to maintain that the law of clerical celibacy was abolished by custom, and got married publicly. The evil appears to have been specially prevalent in Italy. Ratherius wrote two works, viz., *On the Contempt of the Canons* (964), and *On the Disagreement between Ratherius and his Clergy* (968), in which he draws a dark picture of the condition of morality among the priests of his diocese. He tells us that many of the inferior clergy married wealthy ladies, urging as their excuse, that the income of their wives was their only means of livelihood. His writings leave no doubt that many of the priests of Verona, as well as of other dioceses, looked on the women with whom they lived as their lawful wives. Holy orders did not become a diriment impediment of matrimony,[1] till towards the close of the eleventh century. The efforts of Ratherius to revive the ancient discipline of clerical celibacy among his clergy met with the most determined opposition.

Ratherius of Verona.

[1] Jungmann, iv. 168.

He was forced to fly from his diocese on two occasions, and finally died in exile. And Desiderius, abbot of Monte Cassino, who afterwards became Pope, under the name of Victor III. (1086-1087), declares [1] that it was not unusual for priests in Italy to take wives after the manner of laymen, and bequeath their property to their children.

The evil also extended to other countries. Thus, Leo VII. wrote a letter [2] to the bishops of France and Germany, complaining that many priests in those countries lived in open concubinage. He ordered such ecclesiastics to be deposed; but forbade the punishment due to the sins of the parents to be visited on the children. And St. Peter Damian, who laboured with indefatigable energy to root out the vices of simony and immorality, wrote a book, entitled the *Book of Gomorrah*, addressed to Leo IX. (1049-1054), in which he describes at length the sins of immorality prevalent among the clergy of his time, and ends with an appeal to the Pope, to depose those who were guilty of such sins. In reply, Leo IX. thanked him for his book, and praised his zeal; but, guided by prudence and the circumstances of the times, he refused to depose immoral ecclesiastics, except such as were guilty of very grave sins; and ordered that the others were to be allowed to continue in their offices, on expressing sorrow for their conduct, and promising an amendment of their lives.

St. Peter Damian.

Simony.

Simony was the other predominant vice of the clergy during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Ecclesiastical preferments of every description were frequently sold to the highest bidders; and laymen often secured ordination on the payment of a large sum of money to a needy bishop,

[1] *De Mirac. S. Benedicti*, iii.

[2] Labbe, *Coll. Conc.*, ix. 698.

who, perhaps, having purchased his own position at a larger sum of money than he could afford, was prepared to sell his sacred ministrations to any who would buy them. Some distinguished between the sale of orders and that of benefices; and, while condemning the former as simoniacal, maintained there was no simony in the latter, on the ground that the temporalities alone were sold. Both Cardinal Humbert and St. Peter Damian, in writing against the advocates of this theory, showed that their position was untenable, as the close connection between the temporalities of a benefice and the spiritual functions attached to it, resembling the union between body and soul in man, rendered it impossible for the one to be sold without implicating at the same time the other in the contract.

Donations on the occasion of ordination.

There was a difference of discipline between the Latin and Greek Churches with regard to the lawfulness of giving or receiving money on the occcasion of ordination. In the latter, bishops were allowed to take a certain amount fixed by law from those whom they ordained; while, in the former, the taking of money on such an occasion was strictly forbidden. Hence, the acceptance of money in the Greek Church was not simoniacal, as it was one of the means of episcopal sustenance recognised by the law of that Church; but it would be simoniacal in the Latin Church, as it was strictly forbidden, and forbidden from the motive of religion, so that the violation of the prohibition would be opposed to that virtue.

Causes of abuses among the clergy.

The two vices of immorality and simony went hand-in-hand, each contributing to the spread of the other. If we seek for the causes of the prevalence of these vices, we shall find them chiefly—(*a*) in the enslavement of the Church by her connection with the Feudal System; (*b*) in

the frequent wars that distracted Church and State during this epoch; and (*c*) in the practice of Absolute Ordinations.

(*a*) Enslavement of the Church.

(*a*) The Feudal System was a system of land tenure that sprung up early in the ninth century, and played an important part in the medieval history of Europe. By it the land of a country was parcelled out among a number of tenants or vassals, who held it on condition of rendering service, mostly of a military kind, to the lord suzerain. It is the generally received opinion that it was neither exclusively Germanic nor Roman in its origin, but rather the result of the influence of Roman civilization on the system of land-tenure originally prevalent among the Germanic nations. In the creation of a feudal tenancy, the vassal placed his hands between those of his liege lord, and took the oath of *homage*, by which he bound himself to render military service, when required, and to comply with the other conditions agreed upon. The tenant was then *invested* with his fief, the ceremony of investiture consisting in the transfer of some symbols expressive of his obligations to his feudal chief, accompanied by a suitable form of words. The vassals who held their fiefs immediately from the Crown were practically independent, except in so far as they were bound, when called on, to render military service for the defence of the country. Hence, they frequently engaged in war with one another, either to avenge a personal wrong or to acquire additional territory.

Feudal System.

The Feudal System rapidly spread throughout Europe, and effected a great change in the relations between the Church and State. The successors of Charlemagne, being anxious to have trustworthy tenants, who would act as a check on the growing power and ambition of the lay vassals, made large grants of territory to bishops and

other ecclesiastical dignitaries. At first, bishops were freely elected, and then invested with the temporalities of their sees. As long as freedom of election was allowed, the connection of the Church with the Feudal System was a great gain to the former, as it gave her a political status, which was of great advantage to her in dealing with the half-civilized Germanic nations, for whom the appearance of temporal power had a special fascination.

Its connection with the Church.

It was not long, however, till freedom of canonical election began to disappear. By degrees temporal rulers claimed the right of appointing to benefices because of the temporalities attached to them; and, after the time of Charles the Bald (875-877), the last traces of freedom of election had disappeared. It must be admitted that some lay lords exercised the power with which they were vested for the advantage of the Church. This was true of Otho the Great and his successors, down to the time of Henry II. (1002-1024). But it is obvious that the system was liable to grave abuses, and radically objectionable, as it placed episcopal appointments in the hands of persons who were generally more swayed in their selection by the consideration of relationship, or the amount of money they received, than by the suitableness of the candidates for the office. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to find that many who were thus appointed were utterly unworthy of their position; and that, as a consequence, they brought disgrace on the order to which they belonged.

Feudal lords appoint to benefices.

Perhaps, the most glaring abuse of the power possessed by lay lords was the appointment of boys, and even of children, to vacant benefices. For instance, Hugh, the youthful son of Herbert, Count of Vermandois was made Archbishop of Rheims (925) at the age of five; and

Theophylact, son of the Emperor Romanus, was appointed (933) to the see of Constantinople at the age of sixteen.[1] In such cases, however, the episcopal functions were discharged by assistant bishops, who received a small portion of the revenues for their service.

Ecclesiastics take part in warfare.

The connection of the Church with the Feudal System gave rise to another abuse which deserves notice. The ministers of religion not unfrequently took part in the wars of their lay lords. There was an understanding that those ecclesiastics who held fiefs should be exempt from the obligation of rendering personal service in case of war; yet many engaged in it of their own choice, because of the taste they had contracted for it by their early training. In passing judgment on these ecclesiastics, whose conduct was so much at variance with their mission of peace, we must remember the martial proclivities of their age, and the character of those with whom the Christians of Germany, France and Italy were frequently called on to fight. "The circumstances," says Canon Robertson,[2] "appeared in some measure to excuse the warlike propensities of bishops, who might think themselves justified in encouraging their flocks, even by their own example, to resist such formidable and pitiless enemies of Christendom as the Saracens, the Northmen, or the Hungarians." The abuse was repeatedly condemned by national and provincial Councils, during the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

(*b*) Another cause of the decay of ecclesiastical discipline during the tenth and eleventh centuries, was the number of wars that distracted Europe during that time. When Christian princes were not engaged in fighting against the enemies of their country and religion, they frequently

[1] Rob., iv. 141-142. [2] iv. 150.

fought with one another. To such an extent was the passion for war carried, that the Church endeavoured to check it by introducing the *Truce of God*, by which Christains were bound to abstain from private hostilities during certain periods of the year. It was first enforced in France, where it was most needed, early in the eleventh century. The Council of Limoges (1031) ordered, under pain of local interdict, a cessation of hostilities between Christian princes, from Wednesday evening of each week till the following Monday; the prohibition was shortly afterwards extended to the whole of Lent and Advent. The *Truce of God* soon became popular throughout Europe, and societies were organised in different countries to secure its due observance. It was enforced by the Council of Clermont (1095), by the second and third Lateran Councils (1139 and 1179), and by other Councils of the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

(*b*) Frequent wars.

(*c*) Finally, the practice of *Absolute Ordinations* fostered immorality and simony among the clergy. It was the original discipline of the Church, as commanded by the Council of Chalcedon (451), that no one should be ordained without having a title to some mission from which he would derive the means of support. A contrary practice sprung up in the Church during the ninth century. It was condemned by John VIII. (872-882); but his condemnation had not the effect of preventing its continuance. Many persons secured ordination from needy bishops on the payment of a sum of money; and the vagrant mode of life led by those ecclesiastics, moving about from one diocese to another, and practically independent of episcopal supervision, was most injurious to their morals. The third Council of Lateran (1179) decreed that any bishop

(*c*) Absolute Ordinations.

who would ordain a priest or deacon without a title to a mission should be obliged to support him till provided with some other means of income.

Domestic chaplains.

The treatment of domestic chaplains by their masters, and the exemption claimed for them from episcopal jurisdiction, acted in a like manner towards the spread of immorality and simony. Many lay lords had their private chaplains, whom they looked on as forming part of their households, just as much as any of their servants. The chaplains were frequently compelled to perform the most menial services, such as acting as grooms and waiting at table. And as no person of character and education would consent to accept such a post, the lay lords were often forced to select persons from the lower walks of life, who had nothing to recommend them but their servility, and had them ordained by some bishop on the payment of a sufficiently large sum of money. Such a mode of life was obviously unsuited for priests, and was most detrimental to the clerical character.

Notwithstanding the prevalence of these evils, which we have endeavoured to describe, the ignorance and vices of the clergy did not reach that depth which some anti-Catholic writers would have us believe. In every age of this epoch many bright examples of piety and learning were to be found among the clergy and laity. Out of the host of names which might be quoted, it will be sufficient to mention Alcuin, Ven. Bede, St. Boniface, St. Chrodegang, St. Virgilius, Charlemagne, Hincmar, Alfred, St. Dunstan, St. Stephen of Hungary. St. Henry of Germany, and Sylvester II.[1]

[1] The tomes of Migne's *Patrology* and the *Calendar of the Saints* afford a sufficient refutation of those who maintain that there was no learning or piety during the Middle Ages.

From the accession of Clement II. to the chair of St. Peter, in 1046, an implacable war was carried on by the Popes against the vices of immorality and simony. Those who laboured most energetically during this epoch for the extirpation of these vices were Leo IX. (1049-1054); Nicholas II. (1058-1061); and Alexander II. (1061-1073). They held numerous Councils, in which the severest penalties were denounced against all immoral and simoniacal ecclesiastics; and were ably seconded by Hildebrand, who, even before his elevation to the Papacy, was styled the "uncrowned Pope (1049-1073); and by St. Peter Damian (†1072), who was called by the former his "holy Satan." Valuable assistance was also rendered in the cause of religion by the Patarini, a society established at Milan early in the eleventh century, for the purpose of securing the observance of clerical celibacy, the leading spirits of which were two priests, named Ariald and Landulph. It spread rapidly through Italy, and its members succeeded almost everywhere in prevailing on the people to refuse the religious ministrations of married priests. So powerful did this society become within a short time, that most of the Italian clergy were forced, about the middle of the eleventh century, to sign a written promise to observe the laws of celibacy. Ariald was slain in a popular tumult which broke out in Milan, in 1067, and was shortly afterwards canonized by Alexander II.

Efforts made to correct abuses among the clergy.

Patarini.

It was, however, reserved for Gregory VII. (1073-1085), to complete what his predecessors had begun, and to successfully eradicate the vices of immorality and simony among the clergy of the Latin Church.

CHAPTER XV.

MONASTICISM DURING THIS EPOCH.

The Benedictine Rule.

THE religious throughout Europe at the beginning of this epoch generally observed the Benedictine Rule, and continued to observe it for centuries afterwards. The austerity of their lives, and their labours in the interests of religion and education, secured for them the respect and admiration of the Christian world, and caused the wealth of the charitable to flow in on them with boundless generosity. But the wealth which was intended for their benefit, turned out to be for their misfortune. It led to the relaxation of monastic discipline and consequent decay of religious life, which began to make its appearance towards the end of the eighth century.

Decay of religious life; its causes.

Other causes, however, concurred with excessive wealth to bring about the decay of religious life. The chief of these were the exemption of monasteries from the juris-

(a) The wealth of monasteries.

diction of the bishops, frequent wars, the connection between monasticism and the Feudal System, and the appointment of lay abbots.

The Council of Chalcedon enacted[1] that monasteries should be subject to the bishops in whose dioceses they were situated. Early, however, in the sixth century many of the religious of North Africa claimed exemption from the jurisdiction of the local bishops, and yielded obedience only to the Bishop of Carthage, as Primate of Africa.

[1] Can. 4 and 8.

(*b*) Exemption of monasteries from episcopal supervision.

The custom of local exemption was introduced into Europe during the eighth century. Some assert that the first monastery of the kind in that country was Fulda, for which Boniface obtained the privilege from Pope Zachary. The custom once introduced spread rapidly, owing to the favour with which it was received by the nobles. Many of the latter, when building and endowing monasteries, required as a condition that they should be exempt from the jurisdiction of the local bishops. They did this for the purpose of protecting the monks against the exorbitant taxes which were sometimes exacted by rapacious prelates [1] from subject monasteries. But the practice of exemption, while warding off one evil, led to another of a more serious kind, viz., the relaxation of monastic discipline.

(*c*) Wars.

The wars which were of such frequent occurrence, during the eighth and succeeding centuries, had an equally baneful effect on religious as on the secular clergy. During these wars, the monasteries were frequently plundered, and the inmates forced to seek safety in flight. Many of them on their return to their monastic homes brought with them the spirit of the world, and thereby contributed largely to bring about a relaxation of monastic discipline.

(*d*) Feudal system and lay abbots.

Many religious houses held fiefs from lay lords. The latter soon began to claim a voice in all appointments to offices of trust in these houses; and during the ninth century, many of them usurped the right to fill vacant abbacies with their own nominees. Some who were thus appointed became religious. Many of them, however, remained laymen, living in the world, while they drew the

[1] Thus, Gregory the Great, in writing to the Bishop of Ravenna, forbade him to interfere with the revenues of the religious in his diocese (Gies., ii. 140).

rich revenues of their office without discharging any of its duties. And it even sometimes happened that laymen held a plurality of abbacies. Such a state of things was necessarily most prejudicial to the interests of monastic discipline and piety.

Efforts made to revive monastic discipline.

Various efforts were made to check the decay of religious life and restore monastic discipline wherever abuses had crept in. These efforts were, for the most part, made by religious themselves.

The first great reformer of monasticism was Benedict of Aniane. Witiza—for such was his name before he became a religious—was of Gothic descent and of noble origin. While he was still young he became attached to the court of King Pepin; and, after the accession of Charlemagne, continued in the service of the latter till 774, when he visited Rome. On his return from the Eternal City, he narrowly escaped drowning. To show his gratitude to God for what he looked on as the miraculous preservation of his life, he abandoned the world and the bright prospects which it held out to him, and embraced the religious state in the monastery of St. Seine, in Burgundy. Here he entered on a life of the most extreme austerity, living on bread and water, and making the bare floor his bed. He soon acquired a high character for sanctity; and on the death of the abbot (778), he was appointed his successor. But, finding that the duties of his new office did not allow him sufficient time to practise his accustomed exercises of devotion, he withdrew, in 780, to a hermitage on the bank of the river Aniane. Thither he was followed by many monks, wishing to place themselves under his spiritual direction. A rude monastery was constructed for their accommodation, the

Benedict of Aniane.

The Abbey of Aniane.

walls of which were of wood, and the roof of straw. But this wooden structure soon gave way to a splendid monastery raised at the expense of Charlemagne for his former attendant. Here the Benedictine rule was observed in all its original rigour.

The example of the Abbey of Aniane was soon followed by many religious houses in France. At the request of Louis the Mild, Benedict travelled through different parts of the empire, labouring energetically for the restoration of religious discipline. His labours were attended with much success; but the wars that broke out, towards the end of the reign of Louis, and after his death, rendered the revival of monastic discipline of brief duration. Towards the end of his life, Benedict retired to a monastery near Aix-la-Chapelle, where he died, in 821, at the age of seventy years.

The Congregation of Clugny.

In the year 911, a monastery was founded at Clugny, which was destined to play an important part in the revival of monasticism, and the spread of civilization through Europe during the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. At the request of William, Duke of Aquitaine, Berno, Abbot of Beaume, who was held in high repute for his piety and learning, went to Clugny, accompanied by twelve monks, and took np his residence in a building formerly occupied by canons. The rule observed by Berno and his followers was the Benedictine, to which were added some few constitutions for the purpose of increasing its strictness.

Rule observed in Clugny.

The monks were bound to devote a considerable portion of their time to study, and to observe unbroken silence in the church, dormitories, refectories, and kitchens.[1] Their

[1] Gies., ii. 414.

fame for culture and piety soon spread far and wide. They rapidly increased in numbers, and founded many monasteries of their institute in other countries; and many religious throughout Europe, desiring to imitate their example, became affiliated to the Abbey of Clugny, and recognised the jurisdiction of its abbot. So rapidly did this process of affiliation proceed, that, about the middle of the twelfth century, there were as many as two thousand houses of the Congregation to be found in France, Germany, Italy, England, and Spain.

Berno was succeeded in the Abbacy of Clugny by a long line of illustrious men who contributed much by their example and prudent rule to increase the influence and efficiency of the Congregation. The most remarkable of these were Odo (924-941), Odilo (994-1049), and Peter the Venerable (1122-1156). We are told, that so high was the reputation enjoyed by Odilo, that "Popes treated him as an equal, kings and emperors sought his friendship and were guided by his advice, and bishops repaired to Clugny, to place themselves as simple monks under his government."[1]

Odilo.

The Congregation of Clugny continued for three centuries to be the glory of the Church, and its monasteries to be the nurseries of saints and scholars. But the immense wealth of which it became possessed brought about a relaxation of discipline and the decay of religious life among its members. About the beginning of the thirteenth century, it began to yield the field of labour it had occupied so long to the Mendicant Orders, that were more suited to the needs of the time.

[1] Rob., iv. 169.

The Camaldolites also contributed largely, by their strict and austere lives, to revive monastic discipline and piety in Italy The founder of this Order was Romuald, a member of the ducal family of Ravenna. In his earlier years, he led a dissolute life ; but, at the age of twenty, an event occurred which brought about his conversion. He happened to be present at a quarrel between his father and a kinsman, when he saw the former pierce the body of the latter with a sword. Romuald was so much affected by the sight, that he immediately resolved to abandon a world that was so uncertain, and to consecrate his life to God. Having embraced the religious state he spent many years in labouring to reform abuses among the clergy of Northern Italy. Towards the end of his life,[1] he retired (1018) to Camaldoli, a desert place in the Apennines, and laid the foundation of a new Order, which took its name from the place of its origin. The Camaldolites.

The mode of life pursued by the Camaldolites was partly hermitical and partly coenobitical. They lived as hermits in separate cells, and never met except for public worship. They wore a white habit,[2] as a sign of the innocence to which they should aspire, never spoke to one another, and abstained from flesh meat and wine. The Order, which was approved by Alexander II. (1061-1073), was never popular outside Italy.

The last great monastic reformer of this epoch was St. John Gualbert, whose history has much in common with that of St. Romuald. He was descended from a noble Tuscan family, and was born at Florence, in the St. John Gualbert.

[1] He died in 1027.

[2] The Benedictine habit was black.

year 985. Having been charged by his father to avenge the murder of a near relative, he pursued the murderer, and happened to meet him on Good Friday. Seeing that escape was impossible, the latter cast himself on his knees, and placing his arms in the form of a cross prayed for mercy. John Gualbert was moved to grant his prayer out of respect for the symbol of Redemption and the day. He retired to the neighbouring monastery of St. Miniato to pray, and was much struck at seeing the crucifix incline its head towards him, as if in approval of the mercy he had just shown. Thereupon, he resolved to become a monk, and took the religious habit in that monastery.

The Vallombrosians.

Having spent some time in St. Miniato and Camaldoli, he retired, in 1039, to Vallombrosa, where he laid the foundation of a new Order, remarkable for the strictness of its observances. The Benedictine rule was followed; but special constitutions were added to increase its severity. The colour of the habit was at first gray, afterwards brown, and finally black. St. John, who would never consent to take orders, built many monasteries before his death (1073),[1] and many other monasteries adopted his reform and acknowledged his jurisdiction.

Monasticism towards the end of this epoch.

Towards the end of this epoch, the abuses which had grown up in monasteries during the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries had been mostly reformed, and religious had begun to regain their former character for piety and learning. The esteem in which monasticism was held early in the eleventh century is evident from the practice[2] which was then very prevalent, of the laity enrolling themselves as members of some religious house. Thus Henry II.

[1] *Acta Sanct.*, xxvii. 331, July 12th.

[2] This practice dates back at least to the seventh century. Rob., iv. 181.

(1002-1024) was enrolled in the abbey of Clugny, and Conrad II. (1024-1039) in that of St. Gall.

The usefulness of Monasticism during the Middle Ages.

While admitting that, owing to the causes already described, religious life suffered severely during the ninth and tenth centuries, we cannot fail to recognise that during those ages the monasteries were the great centres of piety and civilisation throughout Europe. He must indeed be blind to the evidence of the facts who would maintain, with some narrow-minded anti-Catholics, that the monasteries of Bobbio, St. Gall, Fulda, New Corbie, Clugny, &c., were the consecrated homes of ignorance and vice. "Again and again we put to ourselves the question," writes[1] Dr. Trench, the late Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, "Who during those dismal times would have kept alive the sacred fire of learning, if these (the monks) had not been there? How would that remnant of the precious treasures of ancient literature which has escaped the shipwreck, in which so much had perished, have reached us, if they had not made it their business to transcribe and multiply books? What would have survived of higher culture without the cloister schools? of art, if these had not cherished the spark which might else have been quite trodden out?"

[1] *Lectures on Med. Ch. Hist.*, 103.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE CONDITION OF RELIGION IN THE BRITISH ISLES.

A.—*In England.*

The Golden Age of the English Church.

THE first century of this epoch was the Golden Age of the Anglo-Saxon Church. Its prosperous condition was very much owing to the labours and wise legislation of Theodore, Archbishop of Canterbury (669-690), and to the rapid multiplication of monasteries. Theodore was accompanied to England by two monks, named Hadrian and Benedict Biscop,[1] who rendered valuable assistance in the spread of religion and education in that country.

Hadrian and Benedict Biscop.

The former, who was an African by birth, was entrusted by Theodore with the direction of the school of Canterbury, founded for the education of candidates for the sacred ministry. Under his management, it soon attained a high repute for learning, and attracted students from every part of the Heptarchy. He died at an advanced age, in 710. The latter was of Anglo-Saxon origin, and was educated at Rome. He founded the celebrated monasteries of Wearmouth and Jarrow. We are told that he went to Rome six times, and that on each occasion he brought with him, on his return to England, valuable MSS., vestments, relics, and pictures. He died[2] in 690, leaving behind him many monuments of his zeal and activity.

[1] Benedict was his name in religion, and Biscop his family name.

[2] A history of his life has been written by the Venerable Bede in his *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth.*

The most distinguished of Benedict's pupils was the Venerable Bede. He was born in the neighbourhood of Jarrow, in 673, and at the early age of seven was placed in the monastery of Wearmouth. He went to Jarrow, in 682, in company with some monks who went thither to found a new monastery. Here he was ordained Priest, in 701, and spent the remainder of his life († 735). He was one of the most learned men of his time, and was equally proficient in the sacred and profane sciences. He wrote commentaries on nearly the whole of Sacred Scripture, his favourite study, and a number of hymns, mostly in Latin; and compiled numerous treatises on history, physics, geography, and astronomy. His best known work is his *Ecclesiastical History of England*, in five books, from the landing of Julius Caesar down to the year 731, in which he tells us that whatever time he could spare from the exercises of piety he devoted either to learning, teaching, or writing.[1] The Venerable Bede.

There were many other monastic schools in England besides those mentioned, the chief of which were those of Lindisfarne, Glastonbury, and York. The two first mentioned were Irish foundations, and the monks were mostly of Irish origin for a considerable time. The school of York owed its celebrity to Alcuin (735-804), who taught there for many years before he undertook (782) the management of the Palatine School at the Court of Charlemagne. Great English schools.

The arrival of the Danes in England, in 786, soon changed the bright prospects of the Anglo-Saxon Church. These pagan invaders harassed the country by their repeated invasions for over two centuries. They destroyed England invaded by the Danes.

[1] "Semper aut discere, aut docere, aut scribere dulcè habui," v. 25.

the churches, pillaged and burned the monasteries, and put the monks to the sword, or forced them to seek for safety in flight. Such a state of things was necessarily prejudicial to the interests of religion and education.

Alfred the Great.

Towards the end of the ninth century, a saviour of the English Church and people appeared in the person of Alfred the Great (871-901). He conquered the Danes and compelled them either to withdraw from the country, or embrace Christianity. Many of them accepted the latter alternative, and settled down in the East of England. He restored churches, rebuilt monasteries, and passed many useful laws for the spiritual and temporal welfare of his people. He also promoted education, by founding schools throughout the kingdom, inviting distinguished scholars from other countries, and translating into the vernacular tongue many useful works written in Latin. On the death of Alfred the Great, religion began to suffer again from the renewed incursions of the Danes. But, on the accession of King Edgar (957) the prospects of the English Church became bright once more. Having subdued the enemies of his religion and country, he laboured zealously to extirpate those abuses, especially that of incontinency, that had made their appearance among the English clergy. He was assisted by St. Dunstan, who was successively Abbot of Glastonbury and Archbishop of Canterbury (960-988). A Council held in London (969), at which Dunstan presided, decreed that priests and deacons should either observe the laws of clerical celibacy, or be deposed.

Edgar and St. Dunstan.

Shortly after the death of St. Dunstan, the Danes

[1] He translated Orosius' *History*, Ven. Bede's *Eccles. History*, and St. Gregory's *Pastoral Rule*.

renewed their incursions into England. These incursions brought in their train the usual abuses among the secular and regular clergy, and a decay of religion among the laity. Canute the Great (1017-1035), the first Danish King of England, and Edward the Confessor (1042-1066), laboured, with much zeal and effect, to root out these abuses, and to promote religion and piety among their subjects.

B.—*In Ireland.*

Invasion of Ireland by the Danes.

The Irish Church maintained her high repute for piety and learning till the arrival of the Danes, about 795. Hordes of these sea-faring barbarians made frequent descents on the country during the ninth and tenth centuries. They came as plunderers and the enemies of Christianity, and produced the same baneful effects on religion and education in Ireland as they did in England. In 821, they destroyed the monasteries of Lismore, Cork, and Bangor, in the last of which they massacred nine hundred monks. Fourteen years later Turgesius, a Danish chief, landed in Ireland, and in a short time established his authority over most of the country. His movements were marked by pillage and the destruction of churches and monasteries. He converted the Cathedral of Clonmacnoise into a palace, from the altar of which, as his throne, he issued his commands to his subjects. The sacred books of the Christians were burned, their schools were closed, and their teachers either murdered or sent into exile. His career of plunder and devastation was, however, cut short by Malachy, the Ard-Righ of Ireland, by whom he was defeated in 848. He was shortly afterwards drowned in Lough Owel, near Mullingar.

Turgesius.

The Danes defeated at Clontarf.

This defeat did not put an end to the Danish invasions. Fresh reinforcements continued to pour into the country till their final overthrow by Brian Boru, at Clontarf,[1] in 1014. And the misery of the country was intensified during these two centuries, by the frequent feuds between the native chieftains, who should have been banded together against the common enemy of their faith and nationality.

Abuses prevalent in the Irish Church during the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The distracted condition of Ireland was injurious to the best interests of religion, and gave rise to a number of abuses till then unknown in the country.

(*a*) The monasteries were frequently destroyed,[2] and the inmates were either put to the sword or compelled to live as best they could in the world. Such a state of life had necessarily a baneful effect on monasticism in Ireland.

(*b*) Ecclesiastics were often forced to take up arms to defend their homes and possessions against the invaders. The necessity very often generated a taste for warfare, for we find that, during the latter portion of the ninth and the whole of the tenth century, ecclesiastics frequently took part in battles and fought as ordinary soldiers. For instance, there were present with Cormac MacCulenan, at the battle of Ballymoon (911), two bishops, three abbots, and a large number of inferior ecclesiastics.[3]

(*c*) To secure church property against plunder by the

[1] By the Battle of Clontarf the power of the Danes in Ireland was broken. They were forced to retire to the seaport towns of Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick, which remained still in their hands.

[2] Thus the monastery of Kildare was pillaged six times during the ninth century. And within the same century Armagh was pillaged eleven times. We are told that on one occasion (873) a thousand of the clergy and people were put to death. Tri., *Thaum.*, 295.

[3] *Annals of Innisf.*; Brenan, *Ch. Hist.*, 184.

Danes, it was frequently entrusted to some neighbouring chieftain who was supposed to hold it in his own name for the ecclesiastical purpose for which it was intended. These guardians of Church property are styled by the Irish annalists *Corbes* and *Erenachs*, the only difference between them being that the latter were inferior to the former. Many of them betrayed the trust reposed in them and appropriated the temporalities of the Church. They were mostly laymen; but many of them received tonsure, and some holy orders, in order that there might be no canonical objection to their possessing ecclesiastical property.

Corbes and Erenachs.

No church suffered so much from the Corbes as that of Armagh. Its temporalities were very extensive, owing to the generous sums contributed throughout Ireland for the becoming support of the Primatial see. On the death of Maelbrigid, Bishop of Armagh, in 926, a neighbouring chief,[1] who had been appointed guardian of the Cathedral property, appropriated it and claimed the right of appointing a successor to the deceased bishop. The see remained in the hands of this chief and his descendants for nearly two centuries. At first it was filled by members of the family who were ecclesiastics, without, however, any form of canonical election. But during the eleventh century, there being no longer any member of the family in orders, married laymen[2] appropriated the revenues of the see, and usurped the title of Primate of Ireland; they employed, however, regularly consecrated bishops to discharge the

The see of Armagh in the possession of lay lords.

[1] Supposed to be a descendant of the local chief, from whom St. Patrick obtained the land on which he built his cathedral.

[2] According to St. Bernard (*Life of St. Malachy*), there were eight lay usurpers in the see of Armagh.

duties of the office. Domnald MacAmalgaid, the last of the lay bishops of Armagh, died in 1105, and was succeeded by Celsus, who received episcopal consecration. The latter, though a member[1] of the family in whose hands the see had been so long, vindicated its independence of lay control, and laboured zealously to extirpate the abuses that had recently crept into this and other dioceses of Ireland.

Royal Bishops.

One of the most remarkable features of the Irish Church during this age was the institution of Royal Bishops, or such as were at once bishops and kings. The best known instance of such a union between the mitre and the crown was that of Cormac MacCulenan, Bishop of Cashel and King of Munster. He was of royal descent and a man of extensive and varied learning.[2] He was consecrated Bishop of Cashel towards the end of the ninth century, and is said to have been the founder of that see. On the death of the King of Munster, in 901, he was unanimously elected to succeed to the throne. In his new capacity, he was sometimes required to take part in the wars that were at the time of such common occurrence; and in one of those, in which he engaged with the King of Leinster, he was killed, at the Battle of Ballymoon, in the County of Carlow (911).

The conversion of the Irish Danes.

The Irish Danes were not converted as a body till after their defeat at Clontarf. The Danes of Dublin appear to have been the first to embrace the faith. According to the Annals of Innisfallen, they were converted about 948,

[1] He was grandson of Moeliosa, the predecessor of Domnald. Lanigan, iv. 30.

[2] He wrote the *Psalter of Cashel*, an Irish Glossary, and a work on the *Genealogy of the Irish Saints*.

chiefly through the influence of their chief, Godfried, son of the King of Northumberland, who had received a Christian education from his pious mother, Editha. At the request of Sitric, chief of the Irish Danes, Dublin was made an episcopal see, and Donatus, an Irishman, consecrated its first[1] bishop (1040-1074). His successor, Patrick, who was also an Irishman, was consecrated by Lanfranc, recently appointed Archbishop of Canterbury by William the Conqueror. He was sent to England for consecration because of the racial connection between the Danes and the Normans, who then ruled in that country. Patrick promised obedience to Lanfranc as the Primate of Britain (Britanniae), "in all things appertaining to the Christian religion." This, as well as what had been stated at the Synod of Winchester two years previously, led some to maintain that the see of Canterbury possessed jurisdiction over the Irish Church. The Synod of Winchester was held to settle a dispute between the rival claims of the Archbishop of Canterbury and York to precedence. In favour of the former it was stated that he enjoyed jurisdiction over Ireland, as St. Augustine had received authority from Gregory the Great over Britain (Britanniae), which was interpreted to mean British Isles, Ireland included.

The see of Dublin.

The Archbishop of Canterbury claims jurisdiction over Ireland.

For this claim of the Bishops of Canterbury to jurisdiction over the Irish Church, there was no foundation. It was based merely on an erroneous interpretation of the term Britanniae, and was strenuously resisted by the

[1] A greater antiquity is claimed for the see of Dublin by some writers, who would make Rumoldus, who was martyred, in 775, at Mechlin, or Livinus, the apostle of Ghent († 656), its first Bishop. See Burke's *Bishops of Dublin*, p. 10.

bishops of Ireland. "The Ostmen," says[1] Ussher, "who possessed the three cities of Dublin, Waterford,[2] and Limerick,[3] being a colony of Norwegians, and so countrymen to the Normans, when they had seen England subdued by the Conqueror, and a Norman advanced to the chief archbishopric there, would needs now assume to themselves the name of Normans also, and cause their bishops to receive their consecration from no other metropolitan but the Archbishop of Canterbury."

Distinguished Irish exiles.

During this epoch many distinguished Irishmen travelled to foreign countries, some from missionary zeal, and others to escape the fury of the Danes. The most noteworthy of these exiles were St. Rumoldus (†775); Virgilius, Bishop of Salsburg (†785); St. Dungal (†835), who taught at Pavia, and wrote against the Iconoclasts; St. Donatus, Bishop of Fiesole, in Tuscany (†873), who was favourably known both as a commentator on Scripture and a poet; Scotus Erigena (†874); Marianus Scotus (†1088), founder of the famous monastery of Ratisbon, which became the parent house of many religious institutions throughout Germany; and Marianus Scotus, the celebrated chronicler (†1086). The last mentioned was one of the most learned

[1] Quoted by Brenan, 213.

[2] The see of Waterford was founded about 1096; and its first bishop, Malchus, was sent to England to be consecrated by St. Anselm.

[3] The see of Limerick appears to have been founded about 1106. Its first Bishop was Gillebert, who was appointed Papal Legate in Ireland, and wrote a useful work, *De Usu Ecclesiastico*, for the purpose of doing away with the diversity of liturgical practices that prevailed there at the time. His successor, Patrick, was consecrated (1140) by Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, and promised obedience to him and his successors in that see. Some writers claim for this see a greater antiquity, and maintain that St. Munchin, who flourished during the seventh century, was its first bishop. Lanigan, ii. 92, iv. 23-35.

men of his age. He was born in 1028, and embraced the religious state in the monastery of Clonard, in 1052. He went to the continent in 1056, and the same year joined the Irish monks who had already established a house of their institute at Cologne. He received priest's orders about two years later, and went to Fulda about 1060. Here he remained till 1069, when he removed to Mentz, where he spent the remainder of his life in retirement, prayer, and study. He wrote many works, the best known being his *Chronicle*, which is said to be the most learned work of its kind written during the Middle Ages. Marianus Scotus.

Besides those mentioned, large bodies of monks settled down in various parts of England, France, Germany, and Italy. For instance, it was Irish monks who taught St. Dunstan in Glastonbury, and thus became the great means of effecting a revival of religion and education in England, towards the end of the tenth century. And Heric of Auxerre, writing to Charles the Bald, in the ninth century, refers in the following complimentary terms to the Irish missionaries in France:—"Why do I speak of Ireland? Almost the whole nation, despising the dangers of the sea, repair to our coasts, with a numerous train of philosophers and holy men, the most of whom, bidding adieu to their native soil, account themselves happy under your favour as the servants of the wise Solomon." Irish Missionaries in England and France.

C.—*In Scotland.*

Very little is known of the condition of the Church in Scotland before the ninth century, owing to the destruction of most of its records by the Danes. The missionary work was mostly done by monks, very many of whom were trained in Iona. There were bishops in the country, but Scotch Church before the ninth century.

they had no fixed sees; they lived with the monks, and yielded obedience to the abbots of Iona, till about the middle of the ninth century.

The Danes invade Scotland.

Scotland was visited by the Danes towards the end of the eighth century. They continued to ravage the country for about two hundred years, and had an equally injurious effect on the condition of religion in Scotland, as in England and Ireland.

Iona appears to have suffered most from these ruthless invaders. Its monastery was destroyed, 795, and again in 802; in 806, sixty-eight monks were put to death; in 825, another massacre of the monks occurred, but the number put to death is not known; and, finally, in 986, the abbot and fifteen monks were martyred.

The Primacy of the Scotch Church.

Owing to the repeated descents made by the Danes on Iona, the Primacy of the Scotch Church was transferred to Dunkeld, in 848, through the interference of Kenneth, the first King of the united Picts and Albanian Scots. It is disputed whether the Abbot of Dunkeld was a bishop or a simple priest like the abbots of Iona.[1]

The Primacy was again transferred, about 905, to St. Andrews, which became a regular episcopal see, the bishops of which enjoyed jurisdiction over the whole Scotch Church, and were styled *Episcopi Scotorum.*

The Culdees.

There was a class of Scotch ecclesiastics known as Culdees,[2] whose origin and mode of life have given rise to much controversy. No mention of them occurs in the history of that country, before the ninth century. Their first community appears to have been established in St. Servan's

[1] Doll., iii. 270.

[2] Many hold that the word signifys a servant of God (*Kele-De*). Dr. Lanigan (iv. 301) derives it from *Ceile-Dae*, meaning a person who lives in community.

Island, in Lochleven, about 840, by the last king of the Picts, who granted the Island, "to God, St. Servan, and the Culdee hermits." Dr. Lanigan holds that the Culdees were Canons Regular, who followed the rule of St. Chrodegang, and took charge of the principal churches of that country; others, as Dr. Reeves,[1] maintain that they were monks. There were generally twelve in each community, presided over by a prior.

The Culdees of St. Andrews.

There were thirteen communities of Culdees in Scotland, about the beginning of the eleventh century, the most important being that of St. Andrews. The latter claimed the right of electing the bishop of that see, and, moreover, that no bishop should be appointed throughout the country without their consent. Their claims were disallowed by Boniface VIII. (1294-1303). Owing to the distracted state of the country, during the ninth and tenth centuries, many abuses crept into the Culdee communities; for instance, we find that laymen[2] sometimes usurped the office of prior and appropriated the revenues. Many of the Culdees also claimed the right of living in separate houses, and some of them took wives. The bishops endeavoured to reform them; but, for the most part, without any practical result. They then invited Canons Regular[3] of St. Augustine from other countries, and put them into possession of the churches and temporalities formerly belonging to the Culdees. The Culdees disappeared from Scotland towards the end of the fourteenth century.

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[1] *Trans. of R. I. Academy*, vol. xxiv.

[2] The father of King Duncan († 1039) and the son of Queen Margaret were Culdee priors.

[3] The Canons Regular of St. Augustine got possession of the church of the Culdees of St. Andrews, in 1297. They came to St. Andrews, 1140, from which time the two bodies claimed the joint right of electing the bishop, till the suppression of the Culdee community there, in 1297.

Irish Culdees.

There were also Culdees in Ireland. We learn from the *Annals of Ulster* that when the Danes plundered Armagh, in 925, they spared the property of the Culdees. Besides those residing at Armagh, there were many other communities of them in Ireland, the best known of which were those of Devenish, Clondalkin, and Clonmacnoise. There were Culdees in Armagh, down to the beginning of the sixteenth century, for Ussher states [1] that he saw them. This is the last mention we find of them in Ireland.[2]

Malcolm and St. Margaret.

Malcolm III. (1058-1093) laboured with much zeal throughout his long reign for the improvement of religion and education in his dominions. In this work of reform, he received the active co-operation of his pious wife, St. Margaret, sister of Edgar Atheling. They had numerous Synods held, in which many useful laws were passed for the purpose of reforming abuses, and bringing the Scotch Church more into line with the rest of the Catholic world. Their example was closely followed by their good and prudent son, King David (1124-1153).[3]

[1] *Antiq. of the Brit. Churches.*

[2] There was a community of Culdees at York ; for Athelstan made them a grant of land, in 936. They continued there, at least, till the pontificate of Hadrian IV. (1154-1159), who confirmed them in the privileges which they had already enjoyed.

[3] Christianity was preached in Iceland during this epoch by Irish missionaries from Scotland. When the Norwegians discovered that country, during the latter half of the ninth century, they found "traces of an Irish mission—such as service books, bells, and pastorial crooks—though the natives, having been left without any clergy, had relapsed into paganism" (Rob., iv. 111). And Dicuil, a distinguished Irish geographer, in his treatise, *De Mensura Orbis Terrae,* written in 825, gives a minute description of Iceland, called by him the Ultima Thule. He tells us that his information had been received by him thirty years previously from Irish missionaries who had spent some months in that Island. See Dr. Healy, *Irelands Ancient Schools and Scholars,* 281.

APPENDIX.

LIST OF POPES AND EMPERORS,

FROM THE BIRTH OF CHRIST TO A.D. 1073.

[*Those whose names are in brackets were Antipopes.*]

FIRST CENTURY.

POPES.		EMPERORS.	
NAME	DURATION OF PONTIFICATE	NAME	DURATION OF REIGN
St. Peter	42–67	Tiberius	14–37
St. Linus	67–79	Caligula	37–41
St. Cletus or Anacletus [1]	79–91	Claudius	41–54
St. Clement I.	91–100	Nero	54–68
		Galba	68–69
		Otho	69
		Vitellius	69
		Vespasian	69–79
		Titus	79–81
		Domitian	81–97
		Nerva	97–98

SECOND CENTURY.

St. Evaristus	100–109	Trajan	98–117
St. Alexander I.	109–119	Hadrian	117–138
St. Sixtus I.	119–127	Antoninus	138–161
St. Telesphorus	127–139	Marcus Aurelius	161–180
St. Hyginus	139–142	Commodus	180–192
St. Pius I.	142–157	Pertinax	193
St. Anicetus	157–168	Didius Julian	193
St. Soter	168–177		
St. Eleutherus	177–192		
St. Victor I.	192–201		

[1] According to the more generally received opinion these were different names for the same person; many, however, hold that they were the names of two Popes.

THIRD CENTURY.

POPES. NAME	DURATION OF PONTIFICATE	EMPERORS. NAME	DURATION OF REIGN
St. Zephyrinus	201–218	Septimus Severus	193–211
St. Callistus I.	218–223	Caracalla	211–217
St. Urban I.	223–230	Macrinus	217–218
St. Pontian	230–235	Heliogabalus	218–222
St. Antherus	235–236	Alexander Severus	222–235
St. Fabian	236–250	Maximin	235–238
St. Cornelius [Novatian]	251–252	Gordian	238–244
St. Lucius I.	252–253	Philip	244–249
St. Stephen I.	253–257	Decius	249–251
St. Sixtus II.	257–258	Gallus	251–253
St. Dionysius	259–269	Valerian	253–260
St. Felix I.	269–274	Gallienus	253–268
St. Eutychianus	274–283	Claudius II.	268–270
St. Caius	283–296	Aurelian	270–275
St. Marcellinus	296–304	Tacitus	275–276
		Probus	276–282
		Carus	282–285
		Numerianus	283–284

FOURTH CENTURY.

St. Marcellus[1]	307–309	Diocletian	284–305
St. Eusebius	309	Maximianus	286–305
St. Melchiades	311–314	Constantius Chlorus	305–306
St. Sylvester I.	314–335	Galerius	305–311
St. Marcus	336	Constantine the Great	306–337
St. Julius I.	337–352	Licinius	307–324
Liberius. (Felix II.)	352–366	Maximin	308–313
St. Damasus I.	366–384	Constantius II.	337–361
St. Siricius	385–398	Constantine II.	337–340
St. Anastasius I.	398–401	Constans	337–350
		Julian the Apostate	361–363
		Jovian	363–364
		Valentinian I.	364–375
		Valens	364–375
		Oratian	375–383
		Valentinian II.	375–392
		Theodosius the Great	379–395
		The Empire was permanently divided after the death of Theodosius the Great.	

[1] Owing to the persecution then raging, the Holy See remained vacant nearly four years.

FIFTH CENTURY.

POPES. NAME	DURATION OF PONTIFICATE
St. Innocent I.	402–417
St. Zozimus	417–418
St. Boniface I.	418–422
St. Celestine I.	422–432
St. Sixtus III.	432–440
St. Leo I.	440–461
St. Hilary	461–467
St. Simplicius	467–483
St. Felix III.	483–492
St. Gelasius I.	492–496
St. Anastasius II.	496–498

EMPERORS NAME	DURATION OF REIGN
Emperors of the West.	
Honorius	395–423
Valentinian III.	423–455
Maximus	455
Avitus	455–456
Majorian	457–461
Severus	461–467
Anthemius	467–472
Olybrius	472
Nepos	472–475
Augustulus	475–476
Emperors of the East.	
Arcadius	395–408
Theodosius II.	408–450
Marcian	450–457
Leo I.	457–474
Leo II.	474
Zeno	474–475
Basiliscus	475–476
Zeno (restored)	477–491

SIXTH CENTURY.

St. Symmachus [Laurence]	498–514
St. Hormisdas	514–523
St. John I.	523–525
St. Felix IV.	526–530
Boniface II.	530–532
John II.	532–535
St. Agapetus I.	535–536
St. Sylverius	536–540
Vigilius	540–555
Pelagius I.	555–560
John III.	560–573
Benedict I.	574–578
Pelagius II.	578–590
St. Gregory I.	590–604

Anastasius	491–518
Justin I.	518–527
Justinian I.	527–565
Justin II.	565–578
Tiberius II.	578–582

SEVENTH CENTURY.

POPES. NAME	DURATION OF PONTIFICATE	EMPERORS NAME	DURATION REIGN OF
		Emperors of the East.	
Sabinian	604–605	Mauritius	582–602
Boniface III.	606	Phocas	602–610
St. Boniface IV.	606–614	Heraclius	610–641
St. Deusdedit	615–618	Constantine III.	641
Boniface V.	619–625	Heraclionas	641
Honorius I.	625–638	Constans II.	641–668
Severinus	639	Constantine IV.	668–685
John IV.	640–642	Justinian II.	685–695
Theodore I.	642–649	Leontius	695–698
St. Martin I.	649–655		
Eugene I.	655–657		
St. Vitalian	657–672		
Adeodatus	672–676		
Donus	676–678		
St. Agatho	678–682		
St. Leo II.	682–684		
St. Benedict II.	684–686		
John V.	686–687		
Conon	687		
St. Sergius I.	687–701		

EIGHTH CENTURY.

John VI.	701–705	*Emperors of the East.*	
John VII.	705–707	Tiberius III.	698–705
Sisinnius	708	Justinian II. (restored)	705–711
Constantine	708–715	Philippicus	711–713
St. Gregory II.	715–731	Anastasius II.	713–716
St. Gregory III.	731–741	Theodosius III.	716–717
St. Zachary	741–752	Leo III. [the Isaurian]	717–741
Stephen (II.)[1]	752	Constantine V.	741–775
Stephen II.	752–757	Leo IV.	775–780
St. Paul I. [Constantine]	757–767	Constantine VI.	780–797
Stephen III.	768–772		
Hadrian I.	772–795		

[1] Not consecrated; therefore not reckoned among the Popes by most historians.

NINTH CENTURY.

POPES. NAME	DURATION OF PONTIFICATE	EMPERORS. NAME	DURATION OF REIGN
St. Leo III.	795–816	The Holy Roman Empire, Established A.D. 800.	
Stephen IV.	816–817		
Paschal I.	817–824	*Emperors of the West.*	
Eugene II.	824–827		
Valentine	827	Charlemagne	800–814
Gregory IV.	827–844	Louis the Mild	814–840
Sergius II.	844–847	Lothaire I.	840–855
Leo IV.	847–855	Louis II.	855–875
Benedict III.	855–858	Charles II. [the Bald]	875–877
St. Nicholas I.	858–867	Charles III. [the Fat]	877–887
Hadrian II.	867–872	Arnulph	896–899
John VIII.	872–882		
Marinus I.	882–884	*Emperors of the East.*	
Hadrian III.	884–885	Irene	797–802
Stephen V.	885–891	Nicephorus	802–811
Formosus	891–896	Michael I.	811–813
Boniface VI.	896	Leo V.	813–820
Stephen VI.	896–897	Michael II.	820–829
Romanus	897	Theophilus	829–842
Theodore II.	897	Michael III.	842–867
John IX.	897–900	Basil I.	867–886

TENTH CENTURY.

Benedict IV.	900–903		
Leo V.	903	*Emperors of the West.*	
Christopher	903–904		
Sergius III.	904–911	Louis III. [the Child]	900–911
Anastasius III.	911–913	Conrad I.	911–918
Lando	913–914	Henry I.	918–936
John X.	914–928	Otho I. [the Great]	936–973
Leo VI.	928–929	Otho II.	973–983
Stephen VII.	929–931		
John XI.	931–936	*Emperors of the East.*	
Leo VII.	936–939		
Stephen VIII.	939–943	Leo VI. [the Philosopher]	886–911
Marinus II.	943–946	Constantine VII.	911–959
Agapetus II.	946–956	Romanus II.	959–963
John XII. [Leo VIII.]	956 964	Nicephorus II.	963–969
Benedict V.	964–965	John Tzimisces	969–976
John XIII.	965–972		

TENTH CENTURY—CONTINUED.

POPES. NAME	DURATION OF PONTIFICATE	EMPERORS. NAME	DURATION OF REIGN
Benedict VI.	972–974		
Benedict VII.	975–983		
John XIV.	983–985		
John XV.	985–996		
Gregory V. [John XVI.]	996–999		

ELEVENTH CENTURY.

Sylvester II.	999–1003	*Emperors of the West.*	
John XVII.	1003	Otho III.	996–1002
John XVIII.	1003–1009	Henry II.	1002–1024
Sergius IV.	1009–1012	Conrad II.	1024–1039
Benedict VIII.	1012–1024	Henry III.	1039–1056
John XIX.	1024–1032	Henry IV.	1056–1106
Benedict IX.	1033–1044		
Gregory VI. [Sylvester III.]	1044–1046	*Emperors of the East.*	
Clement II.	1046–1048	Constantine IX.	976–1028
Damasus II.	1048	Romanus III.	1028–1034
Leo IX.	1049–1054	Michael IV.	1034–1041
Victor II.	1054–1057	Michael V.	1041–1042
Stephen IX.	1057–1058	Constantine X.	1042–1056
Nicholas II. [Benedict X.]	1058–1061	Michael VI.	1856–1057
Alexander II. [Honorius II.]	1061–1073	Isaac Comnenue	1057–1059
		Constantine XI.	1059–1067

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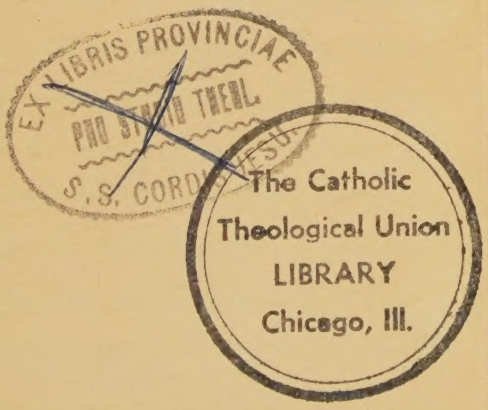
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